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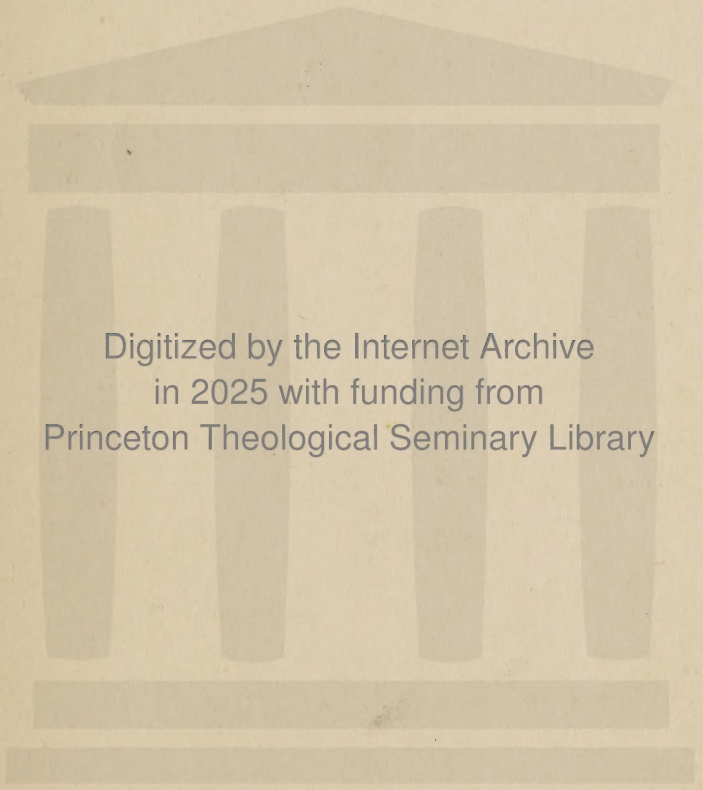
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SOME ASPECTS OF HOSTILITY IN YOUNG CHILDREN

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SOME ASPECTS OF HOSTILITY IN YOUNG CHILDREN

By
Anneliese Friedsam Korner

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1949

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Los Angeles
1948

Anneliese Friedsam Korner

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

Feelings of aggression and hostility are among the earliest and most common impulses of man in our state of culture. According to Mowrer (63), to Dollard and his collaborators (28), and in the opinion of most of the disciples of the psychoanalytic school, aggression is a natural by-product of those frustrations which are inherent in the process of socialization. A child, in growing up, must relinquish, stage by stage, earlier adaptations which have frequently been a source of satisfaction to him. These authors postulate that this sacrifice is likely to arouse anxiety and resentment in the child. Since the child not only receives his first rewards but also suffers his first frustrations at the hands of his parents, his anxiety and hostility are, at first, primarily focused on them. His position of complete helplessness, coupled with his intense need of his parents, heightens this anxiety, particularly in the presence of a feeling of hostility toward them. The conflict between love and hate, the need for and the rebellion against the parents during the educative process, constitutes one of the major problems in the social adjustment of every child.

It is the purpose of this study to scrutinize and examine these feelings of hostility in small children, feelings directed, as we have said, primarily against parents and parent-substitutes. The importance of this problem cannot be overestimated, not only because it will, if mismanaged, become a disturbing factor in parent-child relationships, but also because it may well constitute a basis for adult maladjustment and frequently may be utilized toward destructive social ends, such as war. Psychologic studies can contribute to-

ward the solution of the problem of aggression in three ways: (1) by recognizing and acknowledging the widespread existence of these destructive forces; (2) by examining their nature, origin, and purposes; (3) by establishing ways and means by which these forms of destructive energy may be turned into constructive and useful channels.

The problem of childhood aggression has been studied in several recent investigations conducted by the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station (7, 78). The authors of these attempted to comply with rigid methodologic standards through their utilization of fifteen-second time samples in which the frequency of certain types of behavior was recorded. They decided to forego the recording of complete behavior sequences in the interest of statistical quantification, a procedure which resulted in stress on frequency of behavior at the expense of a qualitative account of dynamic relationships. At the other extreme we find psychoanalytic investigators, who have contributed much to the understanding of childhood aggression by demonstrating the existence of dynamically meaningful sequences of behavior, usually, however, using individual and psychologically deviant subjects, and without attempting any quantitative verification of their conclusions. The present study attempts to achieve a compromise between these two approaches by preserving, on the one hand, intricate and meaningful interrelationships through a complete recording of behavior as it occurs, and by collecting, on the other hand, a sufficient number of case studies of normal children to permit quantification.

One of the primary aims of this investigation was to compare ways in which a group of children of preschool age dealt with their hostility at the level of play and fantasy with ways which they employed in real-life situations. The experimental methods used in this comparison also made it possible to examine the following questions:

1. How frequently is hostility against members of the family expressed in a given play situation by members of a group of children of preschool age?

2. What consistency is there in the expression and quantity of hostility in the same child when observed in two different types of play situation, the one directed, the other free?

3. Are there qualitative differences with respect to the nature, content, frequency, and intensity of hostility express-

ed in play which distinguish the better-adjusted children from those who have had numerous difficulties?

4. Does the observation of hostility in play situations permit inferences to be drawn about behavior in a real-life situation?

5. Does the degree of hostility or the type of adaptation in either situation reflect the relative success of a given child's emotional adjustment?

6. What seem to be the mechanisms underlying the multiple adaptations of the children to their hostility feelings?

B. Basic Concepts

This investigation, as it was set up, touched upon many problems that have been widely discussed in the literature. First there was the central problem of hostility itself, a problem which has received a great deal of attention in studies dealing with aggression and anger. Closely associated with the problem of hostility was that of frustration, which has been the object of a great number of experimental investigations in recent years. As most of the data on the children were gathered by means of projective technics, the growing literature in that field also had to be considered. Furthermore, it was important to understand clearly the function of play in childhood, concerning which there is considerable difference of opinion among the various schools of psychology.

Because of the vastness and diversity of the literature, it would not be profitable to attempt an extended discussion of the entire field at the outset of this study. However, as each step in the present writer's methodology is presented, a brief summary of the findings which are pertinent to that step and which influenced the present investigator in the formulation of her technics will be set forth. At this point, however, clarity will be added to the discussion by a presentation of basic and recurrent concepts as they are used in this study.

The literature reflects increasingly that a differentiation is being made between "aggression" and "hostility," "aggressive behavior" and "aggressive drive." In the course of this study, for convenience of reporting, the words "hostility" and "aggression" will be used interchangeably, even though "aggression" is considered to be a broader term.

Strictly speaking, the study deals only with aggressive behavior and expression of hostility, and when we speak of aggressive impulses or hostile feelings, we are inferring the existence of these feelings from the observation of aggressive behavior.

Similarly, in our comparison between hostility as expressed in play and in real life, we are not, strictly speaking, reporting on observations of real-life behavior, but on the parents' and teachers' reports thereof. This qualification should always be kept in mind even though it is not always included in the discussion on real-life behavior.

For the purposes of this investigation we shall accept the definition of aggression of Dollard and his collaborators (28). According to them, aggression consists of "an act whose goal response is injury to an organism (or its surrogate)" (28, p. 11). This automatically excludes the use of the word "aggression" to mean merely self-assertiveness or initiative, a meaning which is frequently given to the term. We shall also adopt Dollard's definition of frustration: "that condition which exists when a goal response suffers interference" (28, p. 11). Dollard has attempted to establish a causal relationship between frustration and aggression by postulating that "the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression" (28, p. 1). This postulate, however, seems to be too sweeping since the first part of the statement neglects the component of anxiety as a causative factor in aggression, and the second half fails to consider many adaptations to frustration other than aggression, such as regression, withdrawal, sublimation, or resignation. For our purposes, therefore, we must add to Dollard's association of aggression with frustration the postulate of Alexander (1) on the reciprocal relationship between anxiety and hostility. Alexander maintains that anxiety mobilizes hostile impulses and that hostility in turn causes anxiety and fear of retaliation (see also 71, pp. 7-16).

Another concept that will recur in this study is that of the "projective method." Frank (34) coined this term and furnished the following explanation of it:

> A projective method for the study of personality involves the presentation of a stimulus situation designed or chosen because it will mean to

the subject not what the experimenter has arbitrarily decided it should mean (as in most psychological experiments using standardized stimuli in order to be "objective"), but rather whatever it must mean to the personality who gives it, or imposes upon it, his private, idiosyncratic meaning and organization (34, p. 403)

Balkan and Vander Veer (8) in using the Thematic Apperception Test are even more specific in their explanation of the workings of a projective technic.

Since we accept the postulate of psychic determinism, we must assume the stories, like any other mental event, are not chance productions, but the inevitable consequences of a distinctive set of causal influences. The stories thus reflect, in disguised or projected form, the desires, conflicts and past experiences which more or less consciously determine the patient's feeling and thinking. The many biographic details incorporated in the phantasies lend support to this view (8, p. 70).

An objection might be raised that the authors of the preceding quotation do not give sufficient weight to the fact that the content of the stories or motion picture plots recounted by the subjects might have no personal meaning for them. Rapaport (70), however, in his account of the Thematic Apperception Test does include the factor of selection as reflecting personality.

We may state that the characteristics, attitudes, and strivings of the figures in the T.A.T. stories are all memory products; as such they are subject to the laws of memory organization which order single experiences into patterns conforming with the emotional constellation of the subject's life. This is the theoretical basis for assuming that the T.A.T. stories may allow for inferences concerning the make-up of the subject and his world (70, p. 419).

In stating the basic concepts on the nature and function of play in childhood much still remains to be clarified. Psychologists of various schools have regarded play as a preparation for future functions (Groos), as having an immediate and autonomous functionality (Claparède), as being a search for functional pleasure (K. Buehler), as passing through cycles comparable to those of the evolution of the social group (Hall), as mimicry, as an outlet for excess energy, and as atavism. Undoubtedly, much can be said in support of all of these explanations. However, first-hand observations of children's play activities have convinced the writer that Freud (37), Klein (48), Waelder (93), Erikson (31), Griffith (39), Despert (26), and Isaacs (32) were correct in stressing one of

the most important functions of play; namely, a child's attempt to solve his problems. A close approximation to this theory of play was first proposed by Aristotle, and it is surprising that his idea was neglected for so long. In play, says Aristotle, the emotions "become purified of a great deal of the distasteful and dangerous properties which adhere to them."* Waelder (93) describes play as a device of wish-fulfillment, of assimilation of overpowering experiences, of a sort of "leave of absence" from reality and from the Super-ego. Griffith (3) emphasizes the last function, stressing the finding that in play the child finds an outlet for his unconscious wishes, since he can achieve in fantasy what reality denies. Let us summarize our basic concept of the function of play in the language of Isaacs (42):

> Play is not only the means by which the child comes to discover the world; it is supremely the activity which brings him psychic equilibrium in the early years. In his play activities the child externalizes and works out to some measure of harmony all the different trends of his internal psychic life. In turn he gives external form and expression, now to the parent, now to the child within himself, and to each of the different aspects of his real parents, as he apprehends these at the different levels of his own development, through his own wishes and impulses. And gradually he learns to relate his deepest and most primitive fantasies to the ordered world of real relations . . . . Play is indeed the breath of life to the child, since it is through play activities that he finds mental ease, and can work upon his wishes, fears and fantasies, so as to integrate them into a living personality (42, p. 425).

C. Summary of Procedure

Having outlined and summarized the basic concepts used in this investigation, it is now appropriate to give a brief description of the methodology used in our attempt to answer the questions set forth above.

For the purpose of observing the expression of hostility in play, each child was observed in two play sessions. In the first session the child was presented with ten incomplete stories dealing with everyday, routine occurrences, and was asked to complete them in word and play. The second session

*Quoted from K. Menninger, "Love Against Hate," New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1942, p. 168.

consisted of a free-play interview, similar to the diagnostic play interviews conducted in most child guidance centers. In an attempt to check on each child's display of hostility in real life, his parents were interviewed. In addition to exploring the parent-child relationships, parental acceptance or rejection of the child, discipline and the child's reaction to it, the investigator asked the parents to state what they thought the child's reaction would be in situations identical with those presented to the child himself in the form of incomplete stories. Finally, the children's teachers were interviewed to check on their behavior in school. The teachers were also asked to rate the degree of each child's hostility toward adults and toward other children. Furthermore the teachers were asked to evaluate the child's emotional adjustment.

When the experimental procedure was first set up, several frustration experiments were included in order to check on the child's reaction to frustration in real life. The attempt to use these experiments as an additional check on real-life frustration was abandoned, however, because this check did not prove to be comparable to the other checks on reality-behavior which were employed (see discussion of reasons in Chapter VI).

Details of the methodology used will become clearer when the specific procedures are discussed in the following chapters. However, to complete the picture it is necessary to note at this point that the accumulation of data used herein covered a period of eight months of contacts with the subjects, on the average of three days a week.

D. The Subjects

All twenty children in the experimental group were enrolled in the kindergarten grade of the Bethlehem Day Nursery of New York City during the early years of World War II. The entire kindergarten group was studied with the exception of two children who did not fall within the four-to-six-year age limit and of four children who did not have both parents. The latter group was excluded because family relationships and

consequent feelings of anxiety and hostility are probably much altered in children with only one parent. Beyond this, no selection was made.

The experimental group was made up of eleven boys and nine girls. Their ages ranged from four years through five years and eleven months. The figures recorded in Table I indicate in years and months the age at which each child was seen for the first time. The I.Q. ratings based upon individual Binet tests were supplied by students of psychology doing practice testing at the nursery. These ratings covered a range from 90 to 126. The mean I.Q. of the group was 112, indicating that the group was somewhat above average in intelligence.

All information concerning the occupations of the parents, their nationality and religion was obtained from the Nursery School files. In a few cases, as indicated in Table I, some of this information was not available. Most of the children, were second generation Americans of Roman Catholic faith. Their parents came from a great variety of national backgrounds. The neighborhood in which all of the families lived (between 20th and 30th Streets and between First and Third Avenues in New York City) reflected the same mixture of national origins and a low socio-economic status. The homes visited by the writer were, for the most part, quite humble. Rents were low, and a majority of the houses lacked steam heat. Bathrooms and toilets were frequently shared with neighbors. Few families had refrigeration, and even fewer had telephones or cars. Many of the children were enrolled in the school at a time when one or both parents were unemployed.

The parents' occupations were classified according to the Beckman Occupational Rank Scale (12). Most of the fathers were either skilled or semiskilled workers; the mothers, for the most part, worked at semiskilled levels. The income of the few subprofessional and professional workers in the group was lower than that of some of the skilled workers. The fathers' occupations were more varied than the mothers'. Among the fathers were a barber, a carpenter, a painter, an engraver, a terrazzo worker, a truck-driver, a machinist, a crane operator, a busboy, and a gym teacher. Among the mothers were a few secretaries and sales clerks; most of them, however, were semiskilled machine operators.

Table 1.-Factual Data on Subjects

Name	Sex	Age	I.Q.	Nationality		Religion		Occupations	
				Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.	Fa.	Mo.
Mario	m.	5 - 5	101	U.S.	It.	C.	C.	sk.	s.sk.
Philip	m.	4 - 1	100	It.	It.	C.	C.	sk.	s.sk.
Lucas	m.	5 - 11	105	It.	U.S.	Gr. O.	Gr. O.	sk.	h.
Stanley	m.	4 - 8	115	Arm.	Arm.	—	—	s.sk.	s.sk.
Jerry	m.	4 - 9	118	U.S	U.S.	P.	C.	s.sk.	s.sk.
Henry	m.	5 - 3	113	Pol.	Fr.	—	—	sk.w.c.	h.
Rudi	m.	4 - 11	118	It.	U.S.	C.	C.	s.sk.	s.sk.
Joel	m.	4 - 5	93	It.	U.S.	C,	C.	sk.	s.sk.
Michael	m.	4 - 10	112	It.	It.	C.	C.	sk.	sk.w.c.
Jack	m.	4 - 4	123	It.	It.	C.	C.	s.sk.	s.sk.
Tony	m.	4 - 10	122	U.S.	It.	C.	C.	s.p.	s.sk.
Irene	f.	4 - 8	111	U.S.	U.S.	J.	P.	sk.	s.sk.
Jaquel.	f.	4 - 3	125	Fr.	U.S.	—	—	u.sk.	sk.w.c.
Kay	f.	4 - 9	90	Ir.	Ir.	C.	C.	s.sk.	u.sk.
Helen	f.	5 - 0	123	U.S.	Eng.	P.	P.	s.sk.	sk.w.c.
Betsy	f.	4 - 0	126	It.	It.	C.	C.	sk.	s.sk.
Barbara	f.	4 - 10	115	It.	—	C.	—	sk.	s.sk.
Patsy	f.	4 - 0	117	Ir.	—	C.	—	s.sk.	s.sk.
Lottie	f.	5 - 0	-	U.S.	U.S.	C.	P.	sk.w.c.	sk.w.c.
Alice	f.	4 - 4	102	U.S.	U.S.	P.	P.	p.	p.

Arm: Armenian
Eng: English
Fr: French
Ir: Irish
It: Italian.
Pol: Polish
U.S.: American

C.: Catholic
Gr. O.: Greek Orthodox
J.: Jewish
P.: Protestant

p.: Professional
sk.: Skilled
s.sk.: semi-skilled
u.sk.: un-skilled
sk.w.c.: skilled white-collar
s.p.: sub-professional
h.: housewife

Altogether the sampling had several desirable features. The group consisted of children with few of the socio-economic advantages enjoyed by the children of professional and university groups, the source which has so often been used in prior investigations. Probably this factor makes the present sampling representative of a greater number of children. The fact that all the children studied were presumably normal or nonclinic cases was another advantage, for in all probability highly distorted findings would have been obtained had the group consisted of children referred to a guidance center for some special problem. Such groups have also been

a frequent source of subjects in prior investigations. Another favorable characteristic of the samples was the fact that it consisted of all the children in the school group who had both parents and were between four and six years of age.

Having thus briefly outlined the problem to be studied, the basic principles underlying the investigation, the general methodology, and the method of sampling, we may now proceed with a specific consideration of the procedures, conclusions, and methods of verification. In Part I we shall describe and evaluate the specific methodology used, and shall give illustrations of the qualitative findings which that methodology yielded. In Part II we shall make a quantitative analysis of the data and report our generalizations for the group as a whole.

Part I

METHODOLOGY AND KIND OF DATA OBTAINED

Chapter II

FIRST EXPERIMENTAL PLAY SITUATION PERMITTING DISPLAY OF HOSTILITY: STORIES AS DIRECTED FANTASY

A well-known psychoanalyst once generously said in reference to a Thematic Apperception Test report, "You have discovered in two sessions what it would have taken me two hundred analytic hours to obtain" (quoted by Kendig 47, p. 101). In other words, projective technics such as the Thematic Apperception Test may yield material which subjects are unable to give directly and which might require many months to secure through free association.

In all projective technics the material presented is purposely incomplete and ambiguous so that the interpretations elicited may reflect the thoughts and feelings of a given subject. The basic assumption in all these technics is the well-recognized fact that when a subject interprets such a situation he is likely to reveal his own personality. Absorbed in his attempt to explain a seemingly objective bit of material, he loses sight of the fact that he is disclosing his preoccupations, his wishes, his fears and nuclei of aggression, and his past experiences. In addition to the advantage they possess in saving time and revealing personality structure without too much self-consciousness on the subject's part, projective technics have the further advantage of often lending themselves to standardization and therefore to comparison.

Review of the Literature

Justification for using projective technics in this investigation is given in the recent psychologic and psychiatric literature, which shows considerable evidence of increased experimentation with these technics. By far the greatest quan-

tity of work has been done with the Rorschach Ink Blot Test (74). The Thematic Apperception Test, conceived by Morgan and Murray (61), is also widely used both in personality diagnosis and as a research tool. The World Test, introduced by H. G. Wells as early as 1911, and further developed by Löwenfeld (55), Charlotte Buehler (17), Van Wylick (92), and Bolgar and Fischer (14) is also based on the principle of projection. Drawings have frequently been utilized similarly. Appel (5), by having children draw pictures of their homes, was able to make pertinent inferences about their reactions to their environment. Traube (91) found a correspondence between children's drawings and certain personality traits, and Wolff (94) attempted to evaluate a child's home situation and his feeling of security through his drawings.

Levy (53) conducted a systematic investigation into the problem of sibling rivalry among his patients by means of a projective technic adapted to his specific purpose. Each subject was confronted with a mother doll nursing a baby doll and in addition a boy or girl doll, depending on the subject's sex. The subject was then asked what the older doll-child felt like doing when he saw the mother and baby. Levy felt that each child brought his particular experience and personality configuration to bear on this standardized play situation. Conn (21, 22), also using projective technics, conducted experiments exploring the problem of car-sickness and others involving children's reactions to the discovery of genital differences. Recently, the Iowa Welfare Research Station reported a whole series of methodologic studies concerning projective doll play in young children, (7, 67, 68, 69, 72, 78).

There is also precedent for the use of projective technics in the study of aggressive behavior. Lerner, Murphy, and Stone (50), like Wolff (94), devised a series of technics gauging the readiness of children to respond aggressively. Fite (33a) compared physically aggressive behavior as observed on the play ground with attitudes toward aggression as expressed in doll play. Despert (27) used drawing and knife-carving not only in the investigation of children's emotional problems in general, but also of their feelings of hostility. She also used popular fairy tales and the deviations made in retelling these stories in her study of children's personality. Recently Düss (30) used a similar approach to study resistance in the psychoanalysis of children. This author present-

ed six incomplete fables, each symbolizing a fundamental complex, to children between the ages of three and fifteen. She studied their resistance through their tenacity in following the same completion pattern in successive interviews, interpreting each pattern as it appeared.

A particularly fruitful approach used by Thomas (89) suggested to the writer one of the technics used in this investigation. Thomas presented fifteen incomplete stories to sixty-one children with instructions to complete them. Since she skillfully selected everyday situations, she was able to learn, through the children's projections, how they felt about daily occurrences.

It was Mlle. Thomas' promising results with this technic which led this investigator to use the incomplete-story approach as the first play technic in investigating hostility in young children.

A. Criteria Used in Developing the Incomplete-Story Method

(1.) Stories, instead of being presented verbally, should be adapted to the pre-school child's most natural medium of expression, play activity. Considerable emotional response is allowed to escape observation when the child's verbal response only is transcribed, without regard to the intensity of his activity and gesticulation. To facilitate and encourage such revealing expression, the experimenter should act out the stories by means of dolls and should hand the acting character to the child when he is to complete the story. Uniformity in this procedure is, of course, essential. Whether a child is willing to continue the dramatization will in itself reveal his freedom of expression.

(2.) Stories should be enacted with dolls which represent an exact replica of the child's own family constellation. Even though not all stories necessarily involve all family members, yet all should be represented and available to the child whenever he desires to include them in the scene. A little boy or girl doll should represent the subject, but direct identification between doll and child should be avoided by the experimenter. Baruch (11), in her investigation of "Aggres-

sion During Doll Play," forced this identification by giving the doll who stood for the subject the subject's name. Such direct identification is likely to block and inhibit the subject's free flow of emotional expression. Thus the value of a projective technic, in which the subjects ideally do not realize that they are revealing themselves, is greatly reduced.

(3.) Stories should center around everyday occurrences, possibly even less dramatic than those in the stories used by Thomas. They should be within reach of every pre-school child's small world of experiences and should involve the minor pleasures and irritations of their daily routine and care. In other words, the stories should center around such events as eating, going to sleep, and washing and being washed; they should refer to minor deprivations and parental commands.

In addition, the subjects, after completion of the stories, should be given a chance to express their imagination freely and without guidance. This can be achieved by suggesting something like, "Now let's change! You tell and show me some stories and I shall finish them." (Experimental evidence later showed that the group was probably too young to carry through such an assignment. Fourteen of the twenty subjects responded with free play only, not expecting the experimenter to complete a story. Two of the less spontaneous children responded by reciting nursery rhymes and telling traditional fairy stories, and four children were too inhibited to respond at all.)

B. Apparatus

The following toys were made available in the presentation of the stories: A doll family consisting of father, mother, boys and girls -- small and big -- babies, duplicates of adult dolls for possible aunts, uncles or grandparents; doll furniture consisting of beds, tables, chairs, benches, cribs, dishes, a bathtub, a sink and a toilet. All the toys were colorful and attractive and elicited an enthusiastic response from the experimental group. The fact that the children came from underprivileged homes undoubtedly added to their enthusiasm.

C. Preliminary Experimentation

Preliminary experiments were conducted in a kindergarten group which was in many ways unlike the experimental group. The method was tried out in a suburban New York nursery school which was attended by upper middle-class Jewish children. The children enjoyed a great deal of freedom, and few restrictions were placed upon them. Directed educational activities were kept at a minimum. The experimenter obtained the impression that this group was, on the whole, more ready to express hostility than was the underprivileged group. The lack of school restrictions and parental control in the privileged group was probably at least one factor which allowed the easier expression of feelings in general, and of hostility in particular, in that group.

A series of twenty-one stories (presented in full in Appendix I), which complied roughly with the criteria set forth above, was constructed and tested on the seven children of the group who fell within the desired age limits. To avoid fatigue for the children, the stories were broken up into two series, A and B, each series being submitted to all of the above-mentioned children. Thus a total of fourteen experimental sessions was held. On the assumption that the sequence in which the stories were presented might affect the outcome, series A was the first to be presented to four children and series B was the first to be presented to the other three. It soon became evident that, from the standpoint of fatigue, a series of ten stories was approximately the limit that could be presented to children between four and six years of age. A final selection of ten stories was therefore made according to the following standards:

1. The story had to be comprehensible to 95 percent of the children.
2. The story had to elicit a full and rich response from the children. (Some stories practically always elicited a meager response.) For this purpose the response of each child to each story was rated for productivity and the results were tabulated.
3. The story preferably had to elicit responses of an affective nature. Ratings and tabulations were kept on the nature of the responses and those stories were selected which yielded either the greatest display of hostility or the most effective reaction.
4. In the story frustration, denial, or interference had to originate pri-

marily from the parent-figures. This decision was made for the purpose of delimiting the project.

5. In the story frustration was not to be caused by outright rejection on the part of the parent-figure. By contrast, certain stories were accepted which would leave it open to the child's fantasy to project into the stories attitudes or conduct reflecting rejection on the part of the parent-figures.

To insure a smooth and effective sequence among the ten selected stories, they were again tested on three additional children. The sequence finally arranged was found satisfactory in yielding valuable fantasy material.

D. The Stories

1. This little boy (girl is to be substituted wherever appropriate) just loves to bathe and splash in the water. Mommy washes him and he loves that too. There is only one thing which he does not like, and that is to have his ears washed. Today Mommy washes his ears again. He does not like it one bit. What does he feel like doing when Mommy washes his ears? What does the little boy do?

2. Daddy gives the little boy a nickel. The little boy wants to buy some candy with it. Mommy says, "You cannot have any candy before dinner." But the little boy wants to have some candy very badly. What does he feel like doing when Mommy forbids him to have some?

3. The little boy has a fight with his friend. Daddy thinks the friend is right and scolds his little boy for being so mean to his friend. What does the little boy feel like doing when Daddy does that?

4. What is your favorite toy at home? . . . Well, one day the little boy comes home and finds that his favorite teddy bear is gone. You know he likes his teddy bear as much as you like your . . . (insert subject's favorite toy here). Mommy has given it away because she thinks the little boy is too big to play with it. When Mommy tells him this, what does the little boy feel like doing?

5. The little boy wants to play a game with Mommy and he reminds her that she had promised to play with him. But Mommy pays no attention to the little boy; she is busy doing things around the house. She says to the little boy, "Don't disturb me now." What does the little boy feel like doing when he hears that?

6. The little boy likes to go and play with his friends in the street. Mommy says, "Put on your galoshes before you go, it is damp outside." It is much bother to the little boy to put on galoshes. He does not like to do it at all. What does the little boy feel like doing when Mommy tells him he must?

7. Daddy comes home just when the little boy has to go to bed. The little boy did not see his Daddy for a whole day and he missed him. But as soon as Daddy comes in, Mommy takes Daddy away to talk to him. What does the little boy feel like doing when Daddy gives all his attention to Mommy?

8. The little boy has a lot of fun making a mess in the living room.

Mommy tells the little boy to clean up before Daddy comes home. But he has so much fun making a mess. What does he feel like doing when Mommy tells him to clean up?

9. Is there anything you don't like to eat? . . . The little boy's Mommy prepared some hot cereal for breakfast. The little boy does not like hot cereal, as much as you don't like . . . (insert disliked food here). Mommy gives him a full plate of hot cereal. What does the little boy feel like doing when Mommy tells him to finish it?

10. One day Mommy tells the little boy a great secret. She tells him that he is going to have a little baby brother. Show me what the little boy feels like when Mommy tells him this.

E. Experimental Procedure

Several general steps were taken which are vital in any individualized play situation.

1. Establishing rapport with the children. Prior to experimentation the writer spent several days with the group and participated, whenever possible, in the children's activities. She did this in order to familiarize the children with her presence and to establish "collective rapport" and confidence. This procedure seemed preferable to a free-play period at the beginning of each experimental session, since the conditions would then have been so variable, both for the child and the experimenter, that the premises for the subsequent procedure might no longer have been standard.

2. The play-room. The room in which the experiments were conducted was not ideal. For one thing, it lacked a wash-basin. However, water was available to the children in nearby lavatories. On the whole, nevertheless, the play-room met the basic requirements. It was an isolated room which permitted the subject and the experimenter to be alone and undisturbed. It was simply furnished and was devoid of objects that might have distracted the children's attention. It contained only a bed, two tables, and two chairs, all of child size. The room was never used by the children for any other

activity. Being removed from their usual locale was probably conducive to the free expression of hostility feelings.

3. Verbatim transcriptions. It is well known that verbatim notes of the subjects' total response to the situation contribute immeasurably to an understanding of their feelings and thought processes, since details which may appear trivial often prove extremely meaningful. In play interviews it is essential to record the children's actions and gestures as well as the most minor and seemingly irrelevant interjections on the part of the experimenter. Even though it seems desirable to keep these notes on a descriptive level, some interpretation is always implied since many of the words used descriptively, e.g., stalling, evasiveness, competitive, and hostile, imply some degree of judgment. Interpretation also occurs in the description of how the subjects react to certain situations.

Very little difficulty was encountered in note-taking as far as the children were concerned. The experimenter recalls only one instance in which a child seriously objected to her writing. This occurred as a retaliatory move on the part of the child after undergoing a frustration experiment. Giving way to her hostility and trying to regain control over the situation, the child said furiously, "Oh, don't write all the time! Don't you dare write!" As a rule, however, the children were either oblivious of the experimenter's writing or considered it as "busy-work" which made them feel more relaxed and less under surveillance than if the experimenter had closely watched them without doing anything. Some of the children even enjoyed the fact that their creation was considered important by an adult. They felt the note-taking as a tribute to them.

4. Specific procedure in the presentation of the stories. When a child entered the play-room, dolls representing the members of his own family, and doll furniture were lined up in a row on the table. The child was given a few minutes to familiarize himself with the room and the toys. The dolls were then introduced to him in the following manner: "This is the father; this is the mother, and this is the little boy." If there were other members in his family the experimenter added, "This is the brother; this is the sister, etc." (Hereafter the experimenter will be designated as E; the subject as S.) As an introductory sample story, E. then said,

"Do you know that you can tell wonderful stories with these? Here is one. Mother gives the little boy some medicine to get his tummy well. The medicine tastes bad, and the little boy does not like that one bit. What does he feel like doing when Mommy gives him the medicine? . . . Now, the little boy could kick his feet and say he won't take it. Or he might swallow it because he thinks Mommy knows what's best for him. What do you think he feels like doing?"

After S. answered, E. continued, "I see. Now I will tell you some more stories, and this time you will finish them." After each story was presented, E. asked, "What does the little boy feel like doing? What does he do?" When only very meager response was elicited, E. asked, "And then?" When it was not clear whether the response was one of evasion, simple noncompliance, or hostility, E. asked, "Why does he do that?"

5. Reversed-role technic. After the ten stories had been presented, E. attempted to evoke original material from the children by commenting, "Now let's change! You tell me some stories and I shall finish them."

The reliability and validity of this and the other experimental methods are discussed in Appendix II.

F. Illustrative Case Material

Because of the limitation of space, only a few cases are presented in full. They will illustrate the value of the story-approach in this investigation.

Case of Jack: Jack comes from a family of five children. He has two older brothers and two older sisters. In the family group the mother seems to hold the dominant position. His parents are native Italians, of Roman Catholic faith. His father is a semiskilled worker; his mother has a semiskilled trade.

Jack was four years and four months old when first seen. His parents seemed rather old to have a child as young as Jack. He was an unexpected and unwanted child and arrived at a time when his mother thought she was no longer able to bear children. Although, because she has to go to work, his mother finds little time to spend with Jack, she now finds many rewards in having had him. She feels he is brighter and livelier than her other children. Indeed Jack is a bright child. His I.Q. was 123 on the Revised Stanford Binet. His teachers described Jack, in spite of his occasional temper tantrums, as a "happy and enthusiastic child, full of brilliant ideas, and rather independent within himself."

In comparison with the other children in the kindergarten group he is decidedly one of the better-adjusted children. In the experimental play situations he was moderately aggressive, but was classified as mildly hostile when compared with the other children. In real-life situations

he was likely to be somewhat more expressive of his hostility feelings than they were.

Jack was a handsome, well-developed little boy with a husky voice. He had a very candid and enthusiastic look in his eyes. He followed E. eagerly to the play room.

Story No. 1 (Mother washes child's ears). Subject was somewhat resistant and hesitant. He did not touch the toys which were given him. He said, "I don't know . . . I cannot know what he feels like doing . . . he don't like to have his ears washed, so he gets out of the bathtub, and Mommy runs after him . . . and he makes the livingroom all wet."

No. 2 (Mother denies candy before dinner). S. again hesitated to say what the little boy feels like doing: "I don't know . . . ." Then: "He runs outside the house and then he comes back and eats the candy right in front of Mommy."

No. 3 (Father defends friend in a fight). S: "I don't know . . . Daddy makes up his mind about the fight and puts the friend into bed. That's where I am sent when I am bad. You see, Mommy sends me to bed . . . and then I get up again."

No. 4 (Mother gives away favorite toy, which, in her judgment, child has outgrown). When asked about his favorite toys S. stated he liked his trains best of all. He went into great detail describing them. He mentioned at this point that at times his trains were dusty and that he detests dust. Again he was hesitant to express his feelings: "He does not do nothing . . . he cries." E. "Why?" S. "Well, I cry when I get hurt. He cries because he does not want to get hurt. He wants to keep his toys."

No. 5 (Child bids for Mother's attention unsuccessfully). "I don't know . . . . The little boy calls and calls and calls. Every time Mommy turns around he gets sick. Then Mommy will give him medicine."

No. 6 (Mother requests child to wear galoshes). "He goes right out without galoshes and he comes home without galoshes." S. said this provocatively.

No. 7 (Homecoming father devotes his attention to mother). "He cries." E: "Why?" S: "Because he is mad that Daddy went away." E: "And then?" S: "Then Daddy comes back to the little boy." At this point S. whispered to himself in a fashion that was impossible for E. to understand.

No. 8 (Mother requests child to remove toys from living-room). "He keeps on playing because he likes to. When Daddy comes home he sees all the mess. The little boy goes to bed . . . the Daddy sent him there. If he does not go by himself, Daddy brings him there. But the mess is still there, so the little boy did not put it away after all."

No. 9 (Mother asks child to eat a disliked dish). When asked about food he disliked S. said he did not care for carrots. S. "I don't finish my cereal when Mommy tells me to. I get up from the breakfast table and say that I have to go to the nursery . . . that's what he (pointing at the boy doll) does too."

No. 10 (Mother tells child of prospective baby brother). "The little boy laughs because he likes the news."

Reversed roles: S. did not tell a consistent story to be completed by E. However, he mumbled to himself about little carrots and big carrots, and said that he disliked little carrots. Almost in the same breath he whis-

pered, "Mommy is in bed; Daddy is in bed," and acted out for the first time what he was saying. When he was told that his time was up he did not accept this for a long time. He suggested, among other devices to prolong the session, that he and E. play a game of cards. When he finally was ready to go, he kissed each toy goodbye.

Brief analysis: In comparing Jack's productions with those of the other children in the group a number of characteristics became evident. His resistance to expressing his feelings was stronger than in most children. It took him some time to warm up. Like most of the younger children he was reluctant to act out his stories. The mere difficulty of carrying on two activities simultaneously probably prevented the younger children from using the toys extensively. His ready identification of himself with the boy doll was quite striking. In stories 3, 4, and 9, he did not hesitate to ascribe his own experiences and habits to the little boy-doll. This identification probably did not occur, as it does in very young or emotionally disturbed children, (see Despert 27) because of a lack of differentiation between the "I" and the "not I". Rather it seemed to be an expression of Jack's awareness and lack of anxiety. There was a marked difference in response depending on which parent induced the frustration. While Jack expressed hostility feelings rather directly toward the mother-figure, his response to frustration from the father-figure tended to be a denial of the existence of frustration. In stories 3 and 7 he turned the course of events in the little boy's favor, making the father-figure see things his way. While he was hostile to the mother-figure, he sought gratification from the father-figure at all cost.

The most striking thing, however, was his ready verbalization of the tricks that children often use to gain their ends. In story 5, for example, if mother does not respond to a bid for attention, all you have to do is get sick, and you will get it; or in story 8, even though he has to take a lot of punishment, the little boy is all-triumphant in the end for "he did not put his toys away after all."

Case of Tony: Tony comes from a Roman Catholic family. His father was born in New York City and followed a subprofessional occupation. The mother, a native Italian, formerly held a semiskilled position. She was not working at the time she was seen because she had just delivered her second child, Tony's baby brother. The advent of this baby brother had precipitated a major crisis in Tony's life. Probably never having been a completely well-adjusted child, Tony's difficulties were infinitely accentuated by the new arrival. In his fantasies one observed a vicious circle of hostility, feelings of guilt, and self-punishment, none of which found a constructive outlet. In his actual behavior he was not very hostile, except toward the baby. He had been seen molesting the baby. His adaptation to the new arrival was essentially one of regressive behavior; he had begun to wet his bed after the baby was born; his fears had been gravely accentuated since then, and he constantly asked for reassurance from his mother that she still loved him in spite of the baby. The parents, even though exceptionally well-meaning, were one of the sources of Tony's general feeling of insecurity. Both of them had suffered many deprivations during childhood, and they desired to spare Tony some of their former trials. As a result, they over-indulged him. The parents' youthfulness furthered their identification with Tony. In many ways they

lived out their own needs in granting the child all sorts of privileges. They verbalized their fear of losing the child's affection both to the investigator and to the child himself. In this atmosphere Tony became totally bewildered. Lacking the parents stability through which to clarify his own conflicts, he had begun to fear the strength of his own impulses.

His teachers in school found Tony infantile in his behavior, and very dependent on other children for initiative. He was usually not a member of the group and he was a fussy eater. His unproductiveness stood in sharp contrast to his superior intelligence. His I.Q. of 122 on the Revised Stanford Binet was felt to be minimal. He was four years and ten months old when first seen, a well-developed though somewhat frail little boy.

Story No. 1 (Mother washes child's ears). "He runs away and then he hides and then his Mommy can never find him again." E. "Why does he do that?" S. "He does not want to be found because he does not want to have his ears washed."

No. 2 (Mother denies candy before dinner). "If Mommy forbids him to have candy, he feels like not taking the medicine either." (See preliminary story). "He starts jumping up and down." (S. makes boy-doll jump up and down). Then with much feeling: "And then the baby (which in his play is the little boy) gives the mother a bath, and gives her some medicine." (Said in a vindictive voice). "For that, Father gives him a spanking. After the spanking baby goes to bed. In the morning he whistles so hard that Mommy and Daddy jump out of bed and run out of the house. When Daddy runs, all his money falls out of the pocket. So Baby picks it up and buys all the candy he wants forever and he does all the things he was not allowed to do before. When Daddy comes home he discovers that he has no more money. He faints." (The whole fantasy was acted out with the dolls, the baby being the little boy in reality. S. had a jolly time, gesticulating wildly and laughing with satisfaction.)

No. 3 (Father defends friend in a fight). "The baby runs away because he don't like Daddy no more."

No. 4 (Mother gives away favorite toy, which, in her judgment, child has outgrown). When asked about his favorite toy, S. stated he liked guns and trucks the best. S. "He cries; he is sad and mad; he is both. He runs away to get his teddy bear back. He goes to everyone's house and says he wants to live there forever. Then he finds his teddy bear. Now he can come back to his own house to live there. When he comes home he takes Daddy, Mommy and Baby and throws them out of the window. They all die and faint. Then the baby (actually the little boy-doll) starts to upset the house." (S. overthrows all the doll furniture). "And Daddy, Mommy and the baby all get killed by a guy with a black mask . . . . You know I have a black mask." (S. took a black colored paper out of his pocket and put it in front of his eyes.)

No. 5 (Child bids for mother's attention unsuccessfully). "He feels like playing with Daddy. E. "Why?" S. "That will make Mommy angry."

No. 6 (Mother requests child to wear galoshes). "He feels like hitting her and then he throws her out the window."

No. 7 (Homecoming father devotes his attention to mother). "The little boy feels like throwing himself into the river. Then Mommy and Daddy will be sorry that they had to talk it over. Baby (meaning the little boy-

doll as he manipulates it) socks Mommy and Daddy because they don't love him."

No. 8 (Mother requests child to remove toys from living-room). "He feels like jumping up and stamping his feet. He feels like being killed by a knife." E. "Who killed him?" S. "He killed himself." E. "Why?" S. "He does not like himself . . . . Look I am chewing up Mommy!" (S. pretends to bite off the mother-doll's head.) E. "Do you love her or hate her so?" S. "I hate her so."

No. 9 (Mother asks child to eat a disliked dish). When asked about foods he disliked, S. said he does not care for fish cakes. "He feels like doing this." (S. puts chin in hand and pretends to be grouchy and stubborn.) "And he walks away like this." (S. gets up and walks away in a hurt and pouty manner). "And he goes into the living room to play with his toys."

No. 10 (Mother tells child of prospective baby brother). "He feels happy and he screams. E. "Why does he scream?" S. "Because he is happy, he jumps up and down. He runs outside and picks some flowers for Mommy." (Then in a threatening voice,) "He is going to throw these flowers out of the window if Mommy says another bad word about teddy bear." (Story was acted out with dolls.)

Reversed roles: S. told a very revealing story which he completed himself. "Mommy and Daddy gave Baby a nickel." (While saying "Baby" he manipulated the boy-doll). "When they both were sleeping, Baby goes out of the house quietly, and asks at the counter, 'Give me some ice-cream and a frap with a cherry on top!' He ate the ice-cream and the frap with the cherry on top, and when he came back to the house, he was all full." (The following was said in a sarcastic voice:) "He said to Mommy and Daddy, 'I had an ice-cream! I had an ice-cream! What else do you think I had?' Mommy guesses all and she says, 'You had a frap with a cherry on top.' And the little boy said, 'Yes.' So he went to bed and felt like kicking himself in the tummy." E. "Why?" S. "Because he felt ashamed of himself."

Brief analysis: Tony's productions reflected a very lively imagination. Unlike Jack, he acted most of them out. When he made his doll-figures die or faint, he used the two concepts interchangeably. Frequently he took great care to make them come to life again. At first, up to the eighth story, Tony was able to express his hostility without foo much guilt. Some of his responses, as in story 2, contained clearcut wish-fulfilment fantasies. Unlike the hostile fantasies of healthier children, Tony's were intense, vindictive and so strong that he ended up by turning his aggression inward, becoming self-punitive. He pictured the boy-doll as bearing grudges for long periods; in stories 2 and 9 he sought vengeance for interferences he had suffered earlier and had not forgotten. Instead of choosing more direct means of expressing his hostility, he readily verbalized threats on the little boy's part to run away or kill himself in order to punish the parents (stories 4 and 7). In story 5 he pictured the boy-doll as playing up to his father in order to annoy his mother. Like Jack he openly identified himself with the boy-doll when he said, "They got killed by a guy with a black mask . . . you know I have a black mask." Finally toward the end, he broke down under the weight of his aggressive impulses and verbalized his feelings of shame and need for self-punishment with astounding clarity and directness. Apart from all this, the

most striking and recurring theme in his productions was his constantly calling the little boy-figure "the baby," and this in the presence of a baby-doll which was intended to represent his little baby brother. This, of course, seemed to have direct bearing upon the crisis through which he was going. In reality also, he was unwilling to relinquish his place as "baby" of the family. This appeared very vividly in story 10 when the little boy is told about his prospective baby brother. Being faced with that competition, he threatens to throw the flowers out the window, should the mother make another allusion to the fact that the little boy is getting too big to have a teddy bear.

G. Dynamic Aspects of Hostility

We have presented two of the cases studied through the story technic in complete detail. In the following pages examples of types of hostility-reactions are presented which were observed in various children in response to the stories.

1. Direct Expression of Hostility

(a) Death wishes and their equivalents: Death, for the small child, probably does not involve the idea of irrevocable termination of life, but merely the idea of going away. That is why the small child finds it so easy to wish death to individuals who stand in the way of his wish-fulfilments.

Tony, as was seen above, indicated that to die and to faint was the same thing to him, and he thought nothing of making his characters come back to life. Other children engaged in similar fantasies. Irene, instead of wishing death to the father-figure said, "The little girl gets a new Daddy . . . because her Daddy went to jail;" she then threw the father-doll off the table.

Mario got rid of the father-figure by making him ill for a long time. In response to story 9 he replied:

"The little boy throws the food all over the floor. The father steps into the food and spreads it all over. He slides and falls, and he hurts himself on the foot. He has to stay in bed for a long, long time."

(b) Retaliation in kind: Again Tony gave a beautiful example of this mechanism. Since the mother-doll interfered with the little boy's wishes, he was going to make her taste the same bitter medicine that she had given him. The majority of the children retaliated with the kind of discipline they were accustomed to receive at the hands of the adults surrounding

them. In their fantasies they were "licking," "spanking," and "socking" the parent-figures with much gusto. Some of the children delighted so much in this type of fantasy, that they stereotypically responded to most of the stories in this manner.

(c) Open spite: Many children reacted to story 2 like Michael did:

"He goes out and gets himself some candy. He comes back and eats it right in front of his mother. Mother just looks at him. Later she locks him in the locker-room."

Helen, in making up her own story, showed a good deal of defiance mixed with fantasies of disciplinary retaliation:

"The mother says to the little girl, 'You go to sleep!' But the little girl does not like to. What will she do? (Then with much gusto and feeling S. acted out the following as she said,) She hits Mommy. She hits her hard. She shouts, 'I won't. I won't.' Then she goes to the living room and makes everything dirty. Mommy tells the little girl to clean up. The little girl shouts, 'I won't. I won't!' And she hits Mommy again."

(d) Verbal rejection: Statements, such as "then he does not like his Daddy (or Mommy) any more" were quite frequently made by the children. Possibly these might also represent a retaliation in kind, since children unfortunately quite often are informed that they will not be liked if they do not comply with parental requests. Other children rejected parent-figures through critical statements instead of direct assertions of disliking them. Jerry for instance, responding to story 8, in which the mother requests the child to remove his toys from the living room, said this:

"He goes to bed." E.: "Why?" "Because he forgot to put the toys away. He messes up his face so that he cannot see the toys any more. Mother washes him so the boy threw her out the window. He smashes Mother all to pieces and says, 'You bad woman!'"

Or Kay had this to say in response to story 9:

"She feels like going to Daddy and to tell on Mommy. She spanks Mommy . . . (long pause) . . . then Mommy spanks her. MOMMY IS A PAIN IN THE NECK."

(e) Ridicule: Even though ridicule and contempt appear to be an adult method of expressing hostility, it was observed in four children. Helen, for example, after she had finished story 8, proceeded to say with a lot of contempt in her voice:

"Look at Daddy's feet. He is silly! Silly man! (She then knocked the father-figure against the doll-bed with much fury.)

Michael expressed his contempt for a baby sister, saying in a sarcastic tone of voice:

"Look at her silly collar! . . . I am going to kill her. I am going to chop her head off."

2. Less Direct Expression of Hostility

(a) Hostility meted out by some external agent: Quite a few of the children felt more comfortable in having another figure than the child-doll carry through their hostile impulses. Instead of retaliating directly, they had a parent, sibling, friend, or even unknown personage, punish the interfering agent. Jerry for example, when confronted with story 7 in which the mother claims all of Father's attention said:

"The little boy goes to bed. He feels sad because no one is minding him." After a moment's thought he continued, "Father starts looking for the boy and he cries, 'Where is the little boy . . . where is the little boy?' After he looked for a long time he finds him in bed. Father gives Mother a whipping. (S. demonstrates with the dolls.) E.: "Why?" "Because she did not pay any attention to what he said. And then Father makes a big splash into the bathtub."

In response to story 6, in which the mother requests the child to wear galoshes, Joel said:

"The little boy goes out without his galoshes. Daddy scolds Mommy about not letting the boy go without galoshes."

Lottie replied to the same story:

"The little girl goes to the kitchen and puts on the galoshes and then her coat. She goes out, but then she calls up Mommy and tells her that there are no friends in the street. So the two sisters say, 'Mommy we want to go out, too.' Mommy tells them to put on their galoshes. So they scream, 'I won't!' In the end they put them on and everyone is outside. But one of the girls . . . I think the sister . . . goes back and smacks Mommy and Daddy."

Philip left the aggressor completely anonymous when dealing with story 4, in which the mother gives away a favorite toy. He protested vehemently:

"Nobody gets the toy. Somebody hits Mommy. (E.: 'Who hit her?') Someone knocking at the door."

(b) Hostility displaced on to others: It was not uncommon

to observe that the subjects did not act out their hostility against the frustration-inducing agents but against innocent bystanders, mostly objects of their customary jealousy, such as siblings and peers. Irene replied to story 6:

"The little girl wants to go out without her galoshes. (E.: 'What does she do?') She is mad and she hits the kids."

In responding to story 5 in which the child bids for mother's attention unsuccessfully, Jerry makes the brother-figure receive the same rebuff the little boy suffered:

"When Mommy does not pay any attention to him, the little boy goes into the front-room and cries." E.: "Why does he cry?" "Because he is mad. Then he goes to bed. After the night the big boy Brother, gets up and asks for his breakfast. Mother says to him, 'Go away, don't disturb me!'"

(c) Hostile acts rationalized through identification with parent: Three of the children rationalized their hostile behavior by indicating that one of their parents would act similarly under the circumstances. Joel gave an example of that in replying to story 3 in which the father defends a friend in a fight:

"The little boy throws the friend out. My mother throws people out who fight."

3. Hostility Expressed in Destructiveness

Many of the children expressed person-directed hostility in the form of object-directed hostility; they found it easier to express their resentment in destructiveness than in an attack against a parent-figure. Stories 1 and 8, especially the latter, in which the mother requests the child to remove toys from the living-room, aroused more destructiveness than any other stories. Possibly situations in which parents are likely to nag are responded to with destructiveness more readily than situations that cause less superficial irritation. Mario responded very typically to story 8:

"The little boy feels like messing up the whole place. He throws over the furniture and everything." E.: "Does he do that?" "Yes, he does it too. Father will clean it up."

Irene combined spite, verbal rejection, and destructiveness in her story:

"The little girl yells, 'No, no, no, I don't want to clean up, I don't want

to!' E.: "What does she do?" "She cries." E.: "Why?" "She wants to go on playing. Mother puts her to bed. Later she calls Mother . . . no Daddy, she does not like him . . . she is afraid he will whip her. When everyone is asleep she makes one big mess in the apartment. She throws over all the furniture. She puts a mess on Father. She puts messes into the toilet."

4. Other Manifestations of Hostility

Some children's play revealed sexual fantasies which were occasionally coupled with stressed interest in the parent of the opposite sex and hostility toward the parent of the same sex. Alice frequently expressed fantasies of this type. She was basically a very hostile child who had, however, considerable difficulty at times in bringing forth her hostile feelings. They were invariably coupled with strong feelings of guilt. She used a card-board screen, which she happened to find in the play-room, to screen from observation either the experimenter, or the little girl - doll when she indulged in "bad" actions. When she discovered the screen she exclaimed, "Shall we put the screen over the little girl when she is angry?" At times she used the screen in a way that suggested guilt over masturbation. She said, for example, when the mother-figure did not pay any attention to the little girl:

"When the little girl comes home, she goes up to her bed and puts the screen over herself because she is bad. Mommy and Daddy don't need a screen . . . they are not bad. The little girl has to sleep on the floor, because she has been bad." E.: "In what way was she bad?" "Oh, when she lay in her crib, she jumped up and down."

At another time she said, "The girl needs a screen. You see, she isn't going to sleep."

In free play, between the stories, she engaged in fantasies suggestive of rivalry with the mother and of guilt; S. put the father and the girl dolls in one bed saying,

"She is a bad girl." (S. giggled at this point.) E.: "Who said so?" "Mommy says so." E.: "Do you think she is a bad girl?" "Yes."

In response to story 7, in which the homecoming father devotes his attention to the mother, Alice had this to say:

"When that happens, the little girl goes to bed." E.: "Why?" "She goes to bed because she wants her Daddy to come after her. . . . She puts the screen over herself so Mommy and Daddy won't be able to find her. So Daddy beat Mommy." E.: "Why?" "Because Mommy took Daddy away from the little girl." (At that point S. again screened off the girl doll.)

Kay was much more direct than Alice. Judging from the

case study evidence as a whole, Kay was an extremely hostile and jealous child, quite maladjusted and insecure. She was most out-spoken against all adults, especially women, and seemed defenseless against attacks by her peers. Her jealousy appeared to be the center of her difficulties. She seemed to attempt to cope with her feelings by expressing them in her fantasies over and over again. She verbalized her problem in what amounted to a repetition compulsion, and apparently the constant restatement afforded her some relief of emotional tension. After almost each presentation of a story she said tensely:

"I am the mother! I am the mother! Mother is the baby! Daddy is my daddy! I am the mother."

5. Behavior Related to Hostility

(a) Restitution and undoing: Irrevocability is one of the most threatening aspects of acts of hostility. Irrevocable effects usually are a dreaded confirmation that the hostile impulses of an individual are really dangerous. Many of the children therefore saw to it that restitution was made to the figure they attacked. Dead figures came back to life; little boys that ran away from home "forever" returned. In this way the children resorted spontaneously to therapeutic reassurance; namely, that in spite of their hostility their victims survived. The children's responses were also full of examples of the mechanism of undoing. Usually the children imagined some device by which a dreaded situation would not come true. Stanley, for example, responded in the following way when confronted with story 10 in which mother tells the child of a prospective baby brother:

"The little boy feels like going to bed. When everybody is asleep the baby cannot come."

Mario, when given a chance to make his own stories, produced a beautiful example of not wanting to believe his eyes, of trying hard to accept the explanation given him on the facts of life. He was a Roman Catholic child, who lived with several siblings and his parents in very crowded quarters. Practically the whole family slept in one room, and most likely Mario had plenty of occasion to observe his parents' activities. He said concerning a new baby in the family:

"Father goes real close to Mommy and then he says, 'Let's buy a little baby brother.'"

(b) Frustration-regression sequence: Barker, Dembo, and Lewin (10) have very pointedly analysed the dynamics of the frustration-regression sequence. This sequence was occasionally verbalized by this group of children, but not nearly as often as anger. At times the productions reflected a mixture of hostility and regression; at others, regression alone was verbalized. Jerry's answer to story 4, in which the mother gives away the child's favorite toy, which in her judgment he has outgrown, showed his mixture of feelings:

"The little boy turns the mother upside down and throws her out the window. Mommy said to him, 'You are getting too big; you cannot have it no more.' When he hears that he goes to bed."

Helen's answer to the same story was less hostile and more regressive:

"The little girl feels like crying. E.: "Why does she cry?" "Because then her mother loves her. When she cries Mother comes over and kisses her. Then the little girl feels like getting into baby's bed. The baby can sleep in Sister's bed."

In reality, Helen had a baby brother of whom she was very jealous. Jaqueline also verbalized a good deal along regressive lines. In answer to story 1 in which the mother attempts to wash the child's ears she said:

"The little girl feels like not taken the bath. E.: "What does she do?" "She fusses . . . she becomes like a little baby . . . she fusses and cries. I wonder could the baby sit on the toilet? . . . No, it would break."

(c) Guilt feelings following hostility: Tony was not the only child in the group who showed strong guilt reactions after expressing hostility. Probably no other child verbalized them as clearly and dramatically, but a good many of them made the doll-figure meet with some sort of punishment after it had engaged in an aggressive act. Responses like, "He was fresh, so his father gave him a licking" were very common. Jaqueline expressed it with a slight variation in response to story 3:

"The little girl feels like fighting with the friend some more . . . . She feels like getting a spanking from Daddy; she was wrong."

Michael made up the following story, which concluded on a note of anxiety:

"The baby takes a bath. (S. is the baby of the family.) But he does not like it. Father and Mother come to help. He socks them and throws them

in the air. Daddy and Mommy whisper together. They leave the children. So the children will have no more Daddy and Mommy."

Jerry had this to say in responding to story 6:

"The little boy goes out without his galoshes. E.: "Why?" "He forgot them . . . because he was mad. Mother is sad about that. When he is outside he falls and makes his whole suit dirty. Then he goes home and upsets all the furniture. Mommy whips him because he upset the furniture. And at night she makes him sleep on the ground."

A few of the children arranged to have the boy or girl doll meet with punishment without having the latter express any hostility. Barbara illustrated this when she responded to the second story with nothing but "The little girl feels like getting a licking." This disproportionate sense of guilt suggested that either she repressed the expression of hostility, or that guilt feelings aroused and accumulated by other situations sought expression and punishment at this occasion.

(d) Evasive behavior as related to hostility: Evasive behavior was noted both before and after the expression of hostility. A response frankly revealing repressed impulses was occasionally followed by a noncommittal, unproductive response to the next story designed to re-establish the emotional status-quo. Joel can be cited as one example. He was, on the whole, a very unaggressive child. One of the few stories in which he was able to show any resentment was story 7 in which the homecoming father devotes his attention to the mother. He felt such an immediate self-protective need to strengthen his defenses that he became completely unproductive. In stories 7 and 8 he said,

"He chases Mommy and Daddy out." E.: "What does he do?" "He chases Mommy out and hollers, 'You go out!' " (8) After $1\frac{1}{2}$ minutes: "He did clean up. . .you see. . . ." (mumbles.)

Evasiveness was more often encountered before hostility was expressed. Evidently some of the children were battling with their impulses, or trying to suppress them by a cooling-off period before giving vent to their feelings. Kay gave a beautiful example of this in response to Story 5 in which the child bids for the mother's attention unsuccessfully:

"I don't know. . . . The little girl feels like crying. E.: "Why?" "She is sad. No, she is mad. She cries to make Mommy mad. Daddy spanks her and hollers at her."

(e) Delayed hostility discharge: Alice, among other child-

ren, gave an illustration of delayed hostility discharge. Material called forth by Story 2 was suppressed and only brought forth in response to Story 5. While Alice made the doll comply with the mother's request not to eat any candy before dinner, she made the doll eat it when the mother-figure denied the doll her attention in Story 5. The idea of sweets being a substitute for the mother's love might also have entered here. In story 2 she said:

"The little girl feels like eating dinner." E.: "Why?" "Then she gets the candy later."

Story 5: "She feels like going to bed." E.: "Why?" "Because she is disturbing Mommy." E.: "What does she do?" "I don't know . . . You tell!. . . she sneaks out of the house and buys some Chiclet candy. Then the mother walks down the steps and sees that the little girl has gone. When the little girl comes home, she goes upstairs to her bed and puts the screen over herself because she is bad."

(f) Hostility fantasies dynamically related: It was observed that the responses to several stories were frequently dynamically related, either in structure, content, or both. Henry, for example, could not forget for three consecutive stories the feelings he harbored against the boy-doll's friend.

Story 3: The other boy should go home. E.: "What does the little boy feel like doing?" "He feels like fighting with Daddy. After that the little boy asks Daddy to scold the other boy. Daddy does that. And he says to his little boy, 'You hit him back . . . hard!'" (S. acts out scene with dolls.) "The friend is defeated. Daddy sends the friend home forever. The friend goes home and tells his Mommy that the little boy hurt him. Father picks up his little boy and gives him a pickaback ride."

Story 4: "The little boy shouts, 'I want my teddy bear back! I want my teddy bear!' Mommy says he cannot have it back because she has given it to the little friend nearby. But maybe the little boy finds the teddy bear at his grandma's. Then he takes it back.

Story 5: "If Mommy does not play with him, he tells Daddy to play with him. He does tell him too. Daddy says: 'You go out and get some cake!' The little boy says, 'All right, but if I cannot get none, I'll get a teddy bear. And if I cannot have a teddy bear, I want to get a machine gun." E.: "What would he do with the machine gun?" "Shoot the FRIEND."

H. Types of Stories Evoking the Most and the Least Hostility

The story which by far provoked the most hostility was the

third story, in which the father defends another child, the little boy's friend. Virtually all the children, namely, seventeen out of twenty, responded either with mild resentment or intense hostility. They expressed it either against the little friend, the father-doll, or both. This story aroused even some of the most submissive, unaggressive children. In the light of this and the findings in the literature, it was remarkable to find least hostility expression in story 10, in which the mother tells the child of a prospective sibling. In Levy's sibling rivalry experiments (53) hostility was almost universally expressed. The question comes to mind therefore whether the situation in the third story was not more comparable to that in Levy's sibling rivalry experiments than was the situation in story 10. In story 3, as well as in Levy's sibling rivalry situation, the child actually visualizes the deprivations incurred by the presence of a rival, whereas in story 10 he just hears a bit of news usually and conventionally associated with a joyful event. Only eight of the twenty children expressed hostility in story 10. (It was interesting to note that only three of these eight children actually had smaller siblings, and that the remaining five were the babies of their families.) In only one of the eight children did hostility expressed in story 10 correspond to manifestations of sibling rivalry as observed by mothers. Even Kay, a most jealous child expressed acceptance, on the doll's part, to having a baby brother.

The responses to story 10 ranged from outright rejection to happy acceptance of the prospective sibling. Michael, himself the baby of the family, was quite outspoken in his disapproval:

"The little boy is going to take care of the baby. He is going to sleep with it. But he don't like the baby. He hates the baby. He likes the baby just as much as Mommy likes him." (S. took hold of the baby-doll and had the boy-doll play with the baby-doll.) "The baby has to be put away because the boy is fresh with it."

Joel, an only child, who was frequently hospitalized, apparently felt that, with the arrival of a baby, the mother was lost to the older child. He said:

"When Mommy tells him that, he feels like keeping his Daddy. Mommy chased Daddy away." E.: "What does he do?" "The little boy goes to the hospital; he is ill."

Considerable anxiety was aroused in Philip and in Betsy.

Philip who was the baby in the family said, "The little boy is sad. He does not like a baby brother." At this point S. became restless and fidgety and asked to be permitted to take a rest. Being released was obviously a relief to him. Betsy, who was the younger child of two, became anxious over her ambivalence:

"The little girl is jumping and jumping and jumping." E.: "Why?" "She is happy and sad." E.: "Why is she sad?" "Because of baby brother . . . because she is sad." (Then with considerable anxiety in her voice,) "I want to rest . . . I want to come back later."

Lottie showed competitiveness with the mother-figure:

"Ha! . . . she feels like whispering to Mommy, 'I'll have a little baby boy, too!'"

Rudi, who was also the baby in the family, was a good representative of those children who expressed acceptance of the idea of a prospective baby brother. Concerning the doll, Rudi just said very jovially, "He feels like he is going to be glad."

The great majority of the children expressed hostility in stories 6, 8, and 9. These stories involved situations in which the mother requests the child to do certain things. The demands were those commonly made in the process of a child's socialization and are frequently associated, in real life, with parental nagging. The children's reaction mostly was one of spiteful non-compliance and irritation, and their hostility was less intense and on a more shallow level than, for instance, it was in stories 5 and 7. The latter stories apparently tapped more fundamental issues; namely, the children's concern about parental love and affection. Not infrequently the children, when thinking they were rejected by one parent, sought the love of or played up to the other. To cite an example:

"If Mother does not play with him, Brother will. Then Father comes and plays with him . . . he does not need Mother . . . . My father is much nicer than my Mother." (Then, as if to undo his statement to the effect that the little boy does not need the mother,) "Mother comes later and plays with him."

Lucas, the oldest child in the group, took a very superior air, saying:

"He feels like going to bed. He is tired of Mommy who tells him not to disturb her."

There was a great variety of hostile reactions elicited by story 7. Lottie was angry at both parent-figures who seemed to neglect the child, and she disciplined them in an omnipotent manner:

"The little girl smacks Mommy and smacks Daddy and puts them to bed."

Jaqueline, seemingly angry at the mother who commands all of the father's attention, hoped that some day she could effectively compete with her:

"If Daddy goes with Mommy, the little girl does not feel like going to bed. She feels like buying some candy . . . like eating a big, big dinner." E.: "Why?" "So that she grows as big as Mommy."

Rudi apparently thought that if nothing else would focus the father's attention on the little boy, bad behavior might:

"The little boy feels like standing on his head in the bathtub and the water." E.: "Why?" "Because then his father is going to say he is a bad boy."

Finally Mario thought that the attention of the father-figure was obtainable through mere persistence, a method which Mario himself used extensively in reality situations:

"The little boy pulls Daddy away from Mommy so that he will play a game with him. The little boy jumps on Daddy because he wants Daddy to play with. So Daddy says to Mommy, 'I am going to play with the little boy.'"

I. Frequency of Hostility Display

There was not a single child in this group of pre-school children who did not, at one time or another, express hostility in his story completions. Occurrences in the display of hostility were tabulated in terms of frequency and intensity (methodology described in Chapter VII). While expression of hostility in this group was universal during this particular play session, there were great variations from child to child in this respect. Some of the children displayed hostility only very occasionally, while others did so incessantly. The hostility tallies ranged all the way from 1 to 36, with an average occurrence of 16.1 tallies.

Summary

Following the preliminary experimentation, ten incomplete stories were presented to twenty preschool children with instructions to complete them in words and action. The data obtained indicated that the story approach was a valuable tool in exploring these children's thoughts and feelings in general, and their hostility reactions in particular. Examples were given of the children's direct and outright expression of hostility, including death wishes, retaliation, open spite, verbal rejection, and ridicule. Less direct methods were those in which the children rationalized their hostility by relating it to similar behavior on the part of the parent. The illustrations also included examples of hostility expressed through destructiveness, hostility linked with oedipal rivalry, the need for restitution and undoing, and a number of dynamically related reactions following and preceding the expression of hostility.

Chapter III

SECOND EXPERIMENTAL PLAY SITUATION PERMITTING DISPLAY OF HOSTILITY: THE FREE-PLAY INTERVIEW

In the previous chapter a play technic was discussed which was directed and uniform in its application to all the children in the experimental group. In this chapter an account is given of the procedure and findings of an entirely free play interview. The free-play interview was used as a second technic in investigating hostile fantasies in the experimental group. Apart from this aim, one of the purposes of studying this phenomenon through two different kinds of technics was to obtain a mutual validation of the two methods in their capacity to elicit fantasy hostility.

Review of the Literature

Indications of the value of the free play situation in this investigation are found in the literature. A good deal has been written on the subject of play, ranging from the definitions of play and theories as to its purpose, to experimental studies of its nature and function. Solomon (86) and Conn (21), (22) hold an intermediate position between those who advocate strictly directed play (Chapter II) and those who advocate free and undirected play in the exploration of children's attitudes and feelings. These authors do not present their subjects with a standard set of stories, but flexibly adapt their stories to each child's difficulties. Bach (7) in his study of "Young Children's Play Fantasies" also employed a semifree and semidirected methodology in which he encouraged free play with a doll schoolhouse only after a set of standard instructions and a series of well-defined preliminary steps.

Psychoanalysts and psychoanalytically-oriented writers have made notable contributions to the understanding of play,

mainly because play is the principal means of communication between child and analyst in psychotherapy. Anna Freud (37) and Melanie Klein (48) devised the free-play interview as a substitute for the treatment interview as used for adults. These writers maintain that children in general are not capable of introspection to any great extent; they cannot reach clear insight into their own feelings and experiences as adults do, and they cannot translate them into words and thoughts. In a play interview the child has the opportunity to reveal, in a form appropriate to his developmental level, his feelings, attitudes and thoughts. As in interviews with adults, the therapist can take a passive or an active role; the more passive the role which he assumes, the more the interview will approximate the free-association employed in psychoanalytic therapy. In these child analyses, interpretations are given whenever indicated. These interpretations are not always direct. Balkan and Vander Veer (8), for example, say:

> In play therapy, the child is often able to endow dolls with his ego-alien impulses and, by discussing the doll's emotions in the third person, the therapist can give the child insight (8, p. 79).

As in psychoanalytic therapy with adults, the relationship with the therapist is utilized in play therapy. Erikson (31) who based his conclusions on extensive research and psychoanalytic practice, formulated the function of the relationship between therapist and child in play analyses as follows:

> Modern play therapy is based on the observation that a child made ambivalent and insecure by a secret hate against, or fear of, the natural protectors of his play (family, neighborhood) seems able to use the protective sanction of an understanding adult, in professional elaboration the play therapist, to regain some play peace. The most obvious reason is that the child has the toys and the adult for himself; sibling rivalry, parental nagging, and routine interruptions do not disturb the unfolding of his play intentions whatever they may be (31, p. 562).

Many authors feel that play, even without interpretation has a therapeutic effect on the child. Despert (27) for example stated that the play-room technic:

> . . . provides the child with an opportunity to reveal the nature of his emotional conflict, and to express without the threat of punishment tendencies which put him at odds with the outside world . . . . The child is offered an opportunity to dramatize and verbalize his emotional conflict in the play-room . . . and (to) give a clue as to the mechanisms underlying his behavior, as well as "burn out" his hostility and aggressiveness (27, pp. 95, 96).

Levy (52), exponent of the so-called "release therapy" bases his technic upon this concept of the function of play. Erickson's (31) experiments with and observations of children similarly led him to believe that:

> 'to play it out' is the most natural autotherapeutic measure childhood affords. Whatever other role play may have in the child's development, . . . the child also uses it to make up for defeats, sufferings, and frustrations, especially those resulting from a technically and culturally limited use of language (31, p. 561).

While free-play interviews in the past were largely used in therapy with children, a few investigators have noted their usefulness in the exploration of children's hostility feelings. Bach (7) and Baruch (11) used the technic for that purpose, and Despert (26) found that aggressive reactions constituted the most striking single item noted in the doll play of her experimental group.

A. Theoretical Differences Between Standard Clinical Play Interviews and Those Employed in this Investigation

It can be assumed that the stories with which the children were first presented did much to break down their defences and inhibitions. Hostility feelings were brought to the surface and were likely to continue or to be defensively retracted in the free-play session which followed. The usual clinical play interview lacks this preliminary session and, in this respect at least, the two situations are not quite comparable. Furthermore, just before the beginning of the free-play interview, each child was submitted to two frustration experiments, which will be discussed in Chapter VI. The effect of these frustration experiments clearly made itself felt in some play interviews.

B. Apparatus

The same toys were made available as in the presentation of the stories. In addition, there were other adult and child doll-characters of which the children could avail themselves

if they desired. Furthermore, crayons, paper, clay, toy cars and buses and a hospital stretcher were added. The children were permitted to use any of these toys and others in the experimenter's toy-box. Among these were a mechanical toy, a little rubber duck and a wooden king who could walk by means of a recoiling string. The latter toys had been previously used in connection with the frustration experiments.

C. Procedure

After completion of the frustration experiments, the experimenter lined up the above-mentioned toys in a row so as to be as little suggestive as possible. The doll-figures were limited at first to the number of family members of each child, and it was left up to the latter to add or take away any figures. The instructions were very simply, "You may play with these toys again, and today I won't tell you any stories, so you can do anything you wish to do." As a rule, the children quite promptly and spontaneously began to play while the experimenter sat on a low chair at a little distance, taking verbatim notes of the happenings. The experimenter's role on the whole was very passive. She never entered the play unless the child requested her to do so, and at that point she participated only in carrying out the child's instructions. The few questions asked mainly pertained to the identity of the dolls and the motives of their actions. At only one point did the experimenter engage in active questioning. Toward the end, at an opportune moment, the experimenter said, "The other day we were talking about another little boy's (or girl's) mommy and daddy. Is your mommy nice to you? Is your daddy nice to you? Who is nicer to you, Mommy or Daddy?" Depending on the children's answers these inquiries were followed by further questions.

On the average, the play interviews lasted forty-five minutes each.

D. Illustrative Case Material

In reviewing the twenty play interviews it was striking that

each child presented specific themes, sufficiently differentiated to be characteristic of the individual child. Since Jack has already become familiar to the reader, his play interview is first presented here.

Case of Jack: After going through the frustration experiments with relatively good humor, Jack, on first receiving the toys, made the sister-doll violently ill. He commented, "She has to go to the hospital. Sister cries because she is in great pains."

At this point he asked for new toys, something he did frequently throughout the play interview. He did not, however, like other and more restless children, accumulate these toys. As soon as he received new toys, he discarded the old set, saying that all of them would be too many. For a while he tinkered around with the new toys aimlessly. Then he took the other sister-doll and sent her for a ride in a car. At this point he said, "She drives and drives and drives . . . far away from home . . . and she does not find her way back. She never could come home again."

Asking for more toys, he played with the little walking king. He made a female out of this figure and constantly called it a queen. Probing as to how much he clung to that notion E. ventured to say that it really was a king. But Jack continued to call it a queen. The queen was very bossy, commanding everyone around. The little boy-figure was consistantly the one who opposed her rule. When she said something, the little boy-figure was made to scream, "I won't! . . . I won't, you silly queen!"

After this Jack decided to draw. He started by making a smokestack of a boat. Then he made the rest of the boat, calling it "an Army boat full of ammunition." The enemy, he said, was very much afraid of the boat. Making a heavy but small line inside the boat, Jack explained that this was a bed. Then, elaborating the design a little further, he went on to say, "This is me, lying in bed." Then, suddenly speaking in the third person, he said, "He is going back where he lives. He goes to bed because he is in a far-away country. In the bed he has a hook that's going into the water. He catches little baby-fish with it."

After that, Jack made a red fire engine, commenting, "The man in it falls off, because he is not looking where he is going." Jack used only one color for each drawing and showed a certain amount of irritation when he could not find one of the crayons he had used when he wished to add his name.

When asked whether his mother was nice to him, Jack at first answered with a laconic "Yeah." And then he said, "Not always . . . not when I am bad to my Mommy. Then I have to go to bed." At this point Jack again picked up the "queen" and handled it. When asked whether his mother sometimes punished him, he ignored the question. E. then asked whether his father was nice to him. Jack answered with the same kind of "Yeah." E. "Always?" Her question remained unanswered. After a little while, however, he said spontaneously, "Sometimes he fights me, so I fight him . . . but my Daddy always be's the winner." When asked who was nicer to him, Mommy or Daddy, Jack replied without the slightest hesitation, "My Daddy." E. "Why?" S. "He is nice to me every time. Daddy tells me to go and get Mommy to play cards."

Then, for a little while, Jack played at fights between the brother-dolls. The little boy was mixed up in the fight also, and won. He sat on top of both big brothers. Looking at what he was doing, Jack chuckled with a good deal of satisfaction.

When told that time was up, Jack said, "All right." However, he refused to consider joining the other children during the rest hour, and he fussed a great deal over that issue.

Brief analysis: Again Jack showed himself as a bright candid little boy who has a wide range of different interests and a rich imagination. Right at the beginning, and sprinkled throughout the interview, evidence of antagonism against the sibling figures was noted. The fact that previously he did not express any hostility to the story in which the mother tells the child of a prospective baby brother further substantiates that probably this story did not really tap jealousy reactions but attitudes toward an event which conventionally is associated with joy.

Jack's drawing and his comments contained an unusual wealth of fantasy. It may have been mainly a birth fantasy; to analyse its components and layers would be too speculative here. Clearly the bossy queen seemed to be associated with his mother. It is doubtful that Jack's handling of the queen, after having given her up, precisely when he was questioned about his mother, was a chance event. Jack gave clearcut verbal preference to his father over his mother, a preference only rarely encountered among the boys in the group. This position corroborates the impression gained through the stories, in which he expressed infinitely more hostility toward the mother than toward the father. In this connection, it is well to keep in mind that in this family the mother holds the dominant position and metes out most of the discipline. With this shift in authority it is not surprising that Jack preferred his father to his mother, and that, in contrast with most of the other boys in the group, he might have had difficulty in making the proper father identification.

Case of Jaqueline: Jaqueline was the little terror of the nursery school. She was unmanageable most of the time at home and in school. Jaqueline's father was a native European, an unskilled worker and a student off and on, and shiftless at times. He had an uncontrolled temper, and while having been too lax with Jaqueline in the past, he now was overstrict with her. The mother was an ambitious, attractive young woman, a white-collar worker. She was born in this country.

There was much friction between the parents mostly on account of the father's shiftlessness. The mother separated from the father once in the period during which Jaqueline was seen. Jaqueline had a little baby brother, six months old, also enrolled in the nursery school. Although the mother denied in all sincerity any signs of jealousy on Jaqueline's part, the teachers spontaneously commented on her rivalrous attitude and her need for reassurance that she was also loved. Although the teachers were very understanding of her needs, they were at odds about how to handle her most of the time. To cope with her would have taken their undivided attention, which they could not give her in justice to the group. At will, Jaqueline interrupted any program with her screaming and her tantrums which stopped at nothing, including physical assaults on the adults in charge. Non-punitive isolation periods at the time of her tan-

trums did not stop Jaqueline from screaming, scratching, spitting, and kicking. Besides, she was a severe feeding problem.

Jaqueline was four years and three months old when first seen. She was one of the brightest children in the group, earning an I.Q. of 125 on repeated tests. She was a slight, somewhat undernourished little girl, with black hair and big black eyes. In evaluating her behavior in real-life situations, she ranked among the highest in display of hostility.

The free-play interview. In reaction to the frustration experiments she showed relatively little evidence of hostility. Her mode of adaptation was mainly to deny her feelings. The play interview was started by Jaqueline's knocking over some toy chairs accidentally. They fell to the floor. S. said in a voice that betrayed anxiety, "Oh, I hope I have not broken them!" E.: "And if you had, would that have mattered?" S.: "Yes, it would. When I break some of my own things at home Mommy hollers." E.: "Does she?" S., more anxiously now: "No, she don't." E.: "But you just said she does." S.: "No, no, she don't!" E. inquired a little further at this point. S. finally said, "She don't holler, she yells." E.: "What else does Mommy yell about?" S. again very anxiously: "She does not yell, she really don't!"

In spite of all the available toys, S. chose to draw a flag. Fortunately she stated it was a flag, for the round object she drew hardly resembled one. She made the observation that the crayons melted in her hands, and she was a bit alarmed over this. Then, however, she reassured herself, saying, "All crayons melt, those of school too."

Then S. started to play with the hospital stretcher. She put on it the baby-brother-doll. She removed it immediately, however, and placed in its stead the little girl-doll.

Quite unexpectedly S. started to speak about how terribly angry she was at her daddy. She said, "I love to play with my carriage, and Daddy moved it all the way down to the cellar. That was mean of Daddy. I am mad about it."

S. then acted out a scene of an outing which the little girl-doll takes with the father-doll. The two of them go for a ride in father's car. S. commented, "The baby stays with Mother at home. He has made peepee, so Mother must change his diaper. The little girl goes with her daddy for a drive, and they have a very good time." S. acted out what she said and played very actively. When the little girl and Daddy return, and when the latter put away the car, S. banged the head of the father-doll vigorously against the car.

After this she took the little girl-doll and another child-doll and tied them together with a piece of string. She said at this point with much feeling, "They have been naughty, so I tied them together and put them in the corner." S. carried through her threat. E.: "What did they do?" S.: "They hit Mommy."

Soon after this E. asked, "Are your mommy and daddy nice to you?" S. hesitated a while and then said evasively, "Yes . . . maybe." Unfortunately E. did not pursue this point further. With the aim in mind of securing an interview with the mother, E. ventured to ask S. when her mother was coming to school. With a great deal of feeling, S. took hold of the mother-doll, saying, "She should stay at home . . . she does not

come." E.: "Does she disturb us?" S. again evasively said, "Maybe."

A little later S. asked to go to the bathroom. Upon return she made an effort to lock herself and E. into the playroom. This happened after it was announced that her time was up. She did not delay her departure as long as most children, but the following happened before she left: S.: "Do you play with someone else?" E.: "Yes, you know that." S.: "I like you even if you do play with B. . . . but be sure to show B. the candy!" (Candy was denied to her in the frustration experiments!)

Brief analysis: The most striking thing in the play of this ultra-aggressive child is the relative lack of hostility in the play situation. While she ranked among the highest in hostility behavior in real-life situations, her standing in this respect in the play situations was in the lower half when compared with other children in the group. The clue to her relative lack of hostility in the play situations may lie in the fact that one of the main levers of her aggressive behavior in real life is an attempt to draw attention to herself. In the play interview she had the undivided attention of an adult, and therefore felt no need to be aggressive. In the way she said goodbye to E. she revealed not only her need for relationships with grown-ups, but also her eagerness to retain their undivided attention.

Judging from her behavior in the play situations, the hypothesis suggests itself that anxiety was another source of her extreme hostility in real-life situations. It is most puzzling that a child who apparently thinks nothing of physically and verbally attacking her mother, should so anxiously avoid tattling on her; that a child as destructive as Jaqueline should be as anxious over possible breakage of E.'s materials; and that a child as rivalrous as she, should be appalled by the idea of wishing illness on the baby-brother, swiftly replacing that figure with one standing for herself. One is constantly impressed in the play situation with her fear of her hostile impulses, and one wonders whether her acts of aggression are not an expression of her anxiety which drives her to test the reality and strength of her hostile impulses.

E. Frequency of Hostility Display

As in the first play session, all the children of the group showed some degree of hostility during the free-play interview. Again the children varied a great deal, the distribution of the hostility tallies ranging from 1 to 28, with an average occurrence of 14.8 tallies. While a statistical comparison between the hostile incidents in the two play sessions would be unsound, because length of time spent in each was not held completely constant, it was striking that the ranges and the averages of hostile occurrences were so similar in both play

situations. The slightly higher incidence of hostility in the story sessions, which on the whole tended to be somewhat shorter than the free-play interviews, may be explained on the basis that in the story approach only limited and predetermined hostility-evoking situations were explored. The free-play interviews, by contrast, permitted an unlimited range of activities; the further opportunity for hostility display afforded by their longer duration may have in part compensated for the focalization involved in the story experiment.

The unfailing occurrence of hostility during both play sessions brings to mind the question as to how universally one may expect occurrence of hostility in preschool children as revealed in individualized play sessions, a question which is quite important for the clinician, the guidance worker, and the play therapist. The sample under consideration naturally is much too small to permit generalization or prediction. However, it is striking that other investigators also find a very high incidence of hostile behavior during play sessions with their groups of preschool children. As was mentioned before, Despert (26) found that aggressive reactions constituted the most striking single item noted in the doll play of experimental group. Baruch (11) reports that 78 per cent of her four-year-old, and 77 per cent of her five-year-old children showed aggressive behavior during doll play; her forced identification between subject and doll probably reduced her percentages. Bach (7) similarly reports a very high incidence of fantasy aggression; forty-five per cent of an average subject's non-stereotyped fantasies constituted instances of fantasy aggression; while affectionate fantasies comprised on the average less than 3 per cent of all non-stereotyped acts. The various, and only partially overlapping samples of Robinson (72), Sears and Pintler (78), Pintler, Phillips and Sears (69) Phillips (67) and Pintler (68) reveal a high frequency of aggressive play among their subjects.

In consolidating the results of these samples which confirm one another, it is perhaps not too unsound to theorize that, with present methods of child-rearing, the incidence of fantasy hostility would be wide-spread and therefore expected to occur in individual play sessions with preschool children.

F. Dynamic Aspects of Hostility

The play interviews, like the stories, were filled with fantasies and acts, hostile and otherwise, related to all sorts of persons -- parents, teachers, siblings, peers, the experimenter and the subjects themselves. Some of the more imaginative subjects introduced less tangible figures such as fairies, Santa Claus, and the sandman. The same dynamics and the same methods were used by the children to express their hostility as when they responded to the stories. Some were direct, some more subtle; some tried to deny the responsibility for their hostile acts; others tried to undo what they had done. But all of them showed some hostility at one point or another. And each interview had its own speed, movement and sequence, and characteristic of each child. Space does not permit us to illustrate with material gathered in the free-play interviews the dynamics of hostility discussed in the previous chapter. Instead, details of other significant aspects of the children's behavior will be presented here.

G. Common Aspects of the Play Interviews

1. The children's attitude toward the play situation

All but one of the twenty children were eager to have a second turn in playing. Some of them were more outspoken in their eagerness than others. Henry got himself into a fist fight with another boy over his turn. For the sake of fairness the experimenter had them draw lots, and when Henry won he beamed happiness. How much this victory meant to him came out during the frustration experiments. Trying to reassure himself of the experimenter's acceptance in spite of the pain she was inflicting on him, he took the lot he won out of his pocket saying, "I am going to keep this paper . . . forever!"

Tony valued his second turn so highly that he paraded triumphantly through the school, shouting proudly, "I have two chances! I have two chances!" Helen was the only child who hesitated to accept a second invitation. She rationalized her

refusal stating she did not wish to miss her rest hour. Actually she apparently resented the fact that she had permitted herself to express feelings in the first session, which she tried unsuccessfully to control. Naturally she was not urged to come. Shortly afterwards she volunteered when she saw how eager another little girl was to come and play.

All but four of the children had great difficulty in terminating their play. Two of these four children were the youngest in the group, barely four years old, and probably not as able yet to sustain their attention for so long a time. Mounting anxiety definitely was a contributing factor in the desire in two of the four children to break off the interview. The remaining sixteen children, by contrast, did everything in their power to prolong the interview. Some delayed their departure for over twenty minutes after it was announced that time was up. The most favored technic was to ignore the experimenter's statement of dismissal. Many children dug up innumerable little tasks that they had to perform before leaving, such as putting away the toys, saying goodbye to each doll, and cleaning up the play-room. Some, after having left the play-room, returned under all sorts of pretexts. Others begged for tokens of the experimenter's affection in an effort to make up for being told that they had to leave. Still others showed a great deal of jealousy at the prospect that the experimenter would see other children afterwards.

2. The children's attitude toward the experimenter.

Positive feelings toward the experimenter were verbalized more directly than negative ones. Patsy, whom the teachers considered a child starved for love and affection, beamed when she was chosen for the second turn. Putting her arm around the experimenter she said in a coy and endearing voice, "Hello, hello, hello!. . . How are you? . . . Oh, I like you so much."

Barbara, an inhibited little girl, who blocked throughout the presentation of the stories, revealed in the play interview that she had established an astonishing amount of rapport with the experimenter. At first she asked numerous questions about how and where the experimenter lived. Then suddenly she asked:

"Do you know my name?" E. said she did. S. said emphatically and with much feeling, "I want you to know it. (Long pause.) Do you know my home . . . where I live?" E. said that unfortunately she did not. S. again with much feeling said, "I want you to come there."

Michael, an independent little fellow, tested his ground by alternating veiled threats with remarks revealing positive feelings:

"Where did you buy these toys? Did they cost a lot? Does your mommy give you any money to buy them?" E. said her mommy did not, upon which he rather deliberately broke a piece from a toy car. Immediately he said in a self-assuring tone of voice, "That's all right, you will buy a new one." At another point: "Look at daddy's pants. He is fresh. Just look at his pants. I want you to put on his pants." E.: "Why?" "Because I like you. You have lovely toys." Then again, reminded of the painful situation of the frustration experiments he said, "Whose toys are they? Do they cost a lot? (And then with a threat in his voice) If I break this you will be sorry!"

Alice, the little girl who needed a screen to conceal her activity, undoubtedly felt often that the experimenter was an intruder. She drew a boat with huge guns. E.: "Whom is it shooting?" S., after a good deal of hesitation: "You!" Whereupon she became so anxious that she asked the experimenter three times in a row whether she liked her picture.

3. The children's interest in birth, sexual, and excretory functions.

Sexual fantasies were fairly prevalent in the play interviews and appeared in many different forms. Some of the children's drawings reflected considerable sexual curiosity. Betsy was one of the children who did considerable exploring. Already at the outset of the interview she seemed to show protest and confusion regarding the roles assigned to the different sexes. When the toys were lined up in a row before her, she picked the trucks and discarded them most energetically, saying, "These are for boys." Immediately after that she took a piece of clay and bragged how strong she was, breaking it apart. Then she put the father-doll on the toilet and said sarcastically,

"Ha, he is sitting in the water . . . in the dirty water of the toilet." Then she knocked the father-doll off the toilet and repeated the same game with two baby-dolls. Discovering an opening on the foot of the baby-doll she asked with great curiosity, "Can water come out from there?" Then she criticized the baby-dolls for not wearing the proper clothes. After a little while she took the doll toilet and said with irritation, "Why

doesn't that silly toilet stand up? . . . I see no pee in it. I can stick my finger in it." At this point S. took the toy toilet to her mouth and licked it. Then she took the baby-doll and said in a depreciating tone of voice, "Baby cannot pee." E.: "Why not?" "I don't see the pee come down her." Then, pointing to the hole on the foot of the doll S. said, "She must pee out of here." After having asked for two toy bathtubs and toilets she proudly announced, "I have two bathtubs and two toilets! Could someone fit into this toilet?" At that point S. took the sister-doll and tried to squeeze her into the toilet bowl. Then, after taking her out S. said, "There is a pee in the toilet now . . . there is no pee in there anyway, really. It's just make-believe." A little later S. became fascinated with the opening at the bottom of the rubber duck. She asked many questions how the air could go in and out of the duck's body.

Lucas' mother was on the point of delivering a second child when the adults habitually with him noticed that he became very much interested in exploring mechanical objects. His mother had told him that the new baby grew in her body, thus saving Lucas from coming to that self-evident conclusion himself, but she was very hazy and vague in her explanation of how the baby got there. In the play interview Lucas showed relatively little interest in the attractive toys, but was intensely fascinated by a flashlight. He asked innumerable and eager questions about its internal mechanism and tried to unscrew it to see for himself. Several times, right after handling the flashlight he asked for a pencil and clay, but made no active use of it. At one time he did. He made a ball of the clay and pushing one of his fingers into it made a hole. He called the end-product a kettle. Having contemplated it for a while he said,

"After I am finished with the kettle, I am going to make a snake." E.: "Why a snake?" "To bite." E.: "Whom is it going to bite?" "It is going to bite you." E.: "Is it a boy or a girl snake?" "It is a boy snake all right, and it bites the girls . . . all the girls." (Where-upon he again seized the flashlight, unscrewed it and studied its internal mechanism.)

4. Evidence of sibling rivalry.

Feelings of jealousy and a wish to harm the rival were much more prevalent and open in the play interviews than when the stories were presented. Again it was felt that this was the case because the approach in story 10 to the problem was too formalized and therefore elicited too many conventional answers. When left to themselves the majority of the children brought up the problem quite spontaneously. The toy hospital stretcher was a very convenient vehicle with

which to eliminate any unwanted rival. Lucas saw a rival not only in his unborn sibling, but also in his father. To quote some of the things he said:

"The little boy does not eat his dinner. Mother tells Father to eat his dinner. There are lots of germs in his dinner. Daddy gets sick, he has to go to the hospital. The little boy comes and visits him. But Mommy won't visit him. She stays home and cooks dinner for the little boy and herself . . . . This little boy has a brother. Let me have a baby doll! They are playing together. And the brother was very selfish and wanted all the toys. When the little boy saw that he gave the brother a terrible punch in the nose."

Jerry, who had an older brother, had this to say:

"The big boy, the brother, gets very, very sick. He is going to die. And you know who gave him the sickness? The little boy did. The big boy has to go to the hospital, but after a while the big boy comes back from the hospital."

Helen, in her own way, was no less outspoken:

"The mother gets sick. She is having a fever. She is going to die." E.: "What will happen if Mommy is dead?" "Baby cannot live without Mommy. But the girl can. She can go out and buy some milk and bread."

Barbara in her shyness was much more subtle and subdued. She had a sister who was almost grown up. She asked many questions about the toys, where they were bought and why. When she was told that they were bought for the children to play with, she said with a great deal of satisfaction, "They are just for the little children to play with . . . not the big ones."

5. Fantasies relating to moving.

Quite a few of the children, especially the boys, were fascinated by games of moving the family from one place to another, piling the doll furniture on top of the trucks and cars. Undoubtedly, the great mobility during the war years of families all around these children may have been a factor in producing these fantasies. Some of these games reflected a desire for adventure; others showed a definite and marked anxiety. Elements of apprehension were noted especially in situations where the family was made to move into "the wrong house," or when the child-doll found upon returning home that the family had moved.

6. Hoarding of toys.

Six of the children, at times, found satisfaction in merely accumulating the toys, the more the better. This activity was habitual with Stanley and was probably symptomatic of his general disturbance and anxiety. According to the teachers he did not play with anything for any length of time, and this was true during the play interview also. His key words throughout the session were, "Give me more!" Other children, notably Irene, Philip, Lucas, Tony and Rudi occasionally made similar demands. These requests, however, most frequently occurred either when the children were denied a wish, or when their anxiety was aroused. It seemed as if the hoarding of toys was not only a sign of regressive behavior, but also a reassurance-seeking device to make up in quantitative gain for some loss in real satisfaction.

7. The children's drawings and clay work.

Clay work was mostly busy-work to which the children resorted infrequently. Their drawings, by contrast, were plentiful, often meaningful, and at times autobiographical. Naturally, some of the children drew stereotypes, like boats, houses, airplanes, but others made highly individualized pictures. Despert (27) and Griffith (39) gave evidence in their investigations that quite often underneath these stereotypes is hidden a wealth of fantasy and symbolism. According to these authors boats, for example, occasionally are made to stand for wombs or mothers, and although this appears farfetched to some, evidence directly from one of the children bears out that this is sometimes true. Alice for example drew what she called "mother." Actually what she did draw was a boat, and later she called it a boat herself--a German boat at that. Patsy, after drawing some daddy longleg flowers and make-believe letters drew three round black circles with a dot in the middle of each, saying they were "meanas." Making a small "meana" she said, "This is mine." Making a bigger "meana" she said, "This is Mommy's." And adding a still bigger one she said, "This is Daddy's."

Mario drew during all but ten minutes of the play interview. Drawing was his favorite activity in the play group also. He availed himself to a large array of gay colors. First he drew a sailboat that swam in yellow water, then a rather primitive

house, blue and red, and finally a big red hospital stretcher. He commented, "It is for a lady . . . . Once an ambulance came for my mother." E.: "How did you feel then?" "I felt like taking the policeman's gun and like bumping him off."

At times the children's mood was reflected in their drawings as well as in the choice of their colors. Helen, for example, annoyed by the frustration experiments, took a black crayon and scribbled profusely and tensely on a piece of paper until she had overcome her irritation. Henry's drawing activity mirrored the conflict he suffered and his way of working it through successfully.

Within the scope of one of the frustration experiments Henry was denied candy. Seeking an outlet for his irritation he took a piece of paper and drew what he called a sailboat. The sailboat amounted to nothing but intense scribbling with a black crayon. S. explained the scribbling by saying that he put rocks on the boat. He tried to frighten E., saying, "Boooo, look how black it is." After that he asked E. twice whether she liked his drawing and seemed to find little comfort in her praise. E. asked him what the rocks were for. S.: "They are for building a house." E.: "For whom?" S.: "For the people on the boat to hide in." E.: "Why do they want to hide?" S.: "Because they want to show something that nobody is supposed to see." E.: "What is that?" S.: "I am not going to tell." E.: "Why don't you?" S. after considerable hesitation, "Well, it is some candy and they are hiding it before the cop." After that was out S. stopped using the black crayon and started to scribble in red. He said he used it "to make the boat pretty." After drawing a blue sky over it he dismissed the whole drawing and started a new one, this time a red sailboat which was clearly distinguishable. His scribbling stopped completely at that point. With the completion of that picture he had thrown overboard the last bit of anger against E. and suddenly he said, "I am going to make a valentine . . . for you!" Whereupon he drew three red hearts, two of which he pierced with an arrow, and gave them to E. as a present. After that he sang to himself and gaily drew two more sailboats.

8. The children's answers regarding their own parents

Inquiries as to how the children felt they were being treated by their parents were quite fruitful. Indeed their answers were so revealing that a number of them are quoted here.

Case of Helen: E.: "The other day we were talking about another little girl's Mommy and Daddy. Is your Daddy nice to you?" S., promptly: "Yes, he is nice. He is not drunk, that's why I love him. Other children's fathers are drunk." E.: "Is your Mommy nice to you?" S. after some hesitation: "Yes, she is nice too." E.: "Does Mommy sometimes punish you?" S.: "Yes she does, and then I cry. And I go to bed. So Mommy yells, 'You get out of this bed!' But I don't, I scream I am so mad. And

then she hits me with something, a hair brush or so. You know that hurts! Yesterday it did not hurt; I made it so that it would not hurt." To E.'s question who was nicer to her, father or mother, Helen replied without hesitation, "Daddy! Mommy makes me mad very often." After that S. took the father and the girl-dolls and put them into a truck. She arranged it so that the father-doll had his arm around the girl-doll. Then she said, "They are going off for a ride, and Mommy stays home."

Case of Kay: When Kay was asked whether her parents were nice to her she replied in her characteristically hostile way, "Yes, they are nice to me. But I am not nice to them. Mother does everything for Daddy and for me. But we don't give her any sympathy. And besides they don't like me." Kay verbalized here with extraordinary lucidity the true state of affairs. Her mother was an over-indulgent woman who tried to appease unsuccessfully a tyrannical husband and a very hostile child of whom she actually was afraid. Also the child fundamentally was rejected by both parents. When she was asked who was nicer to her, the mother or the father, she replied without hesitation, "My Daddy." This did not correspond to the facts, but Kay always wishfully reported to the teachers and E. that it was her father who did her more favors.

Not all the children were as outspoken as these two girls. Some were quite evasive and anxious; some reacted with hostility toward the experimenter.

Case of Michael: When asked whether his mother was nice to him he replied half-heartedly, "Sure she is nice." E.: "Does she ever punish you?" S. ignored E.'s question. E.: "Does she ever scold you?" S. with resentment in his voice: "What do you think?" E.: "I don't know." S.: "No, she don't." E.: "Never?" S. with hostility: "You heard me! If not, go fish in the brook!" After he had calmed down a bit, he was asked the same question regarding his father. Again he answered, "Sure he is nice." Reluctantly he added, "Sometimes he thrashes me." E.: "When did that happen?" From this point on he systematically ignored all further questions. He responded to them either by speaking of something else, or by stamping his feet nervously on the floor.

Alice felt so threatened by the questions that she requested "Let's open the door and let's keep it open!"

Two of the children mentioned the utilitarian value their parents held for them. Stanley, an over-indulged little boy, answered when he was asked who was nicer to him, Mommy or Daddy, "Daddy is nicer for me." And when Barbara was asked whether her mother was nice to her, she looked at the experimenter with embarrassment and said evasively, "Mommy cooks."

9. Difference between the boy's and the girl's answers.

There were marked differences between the girls' answers which may reflect on the problem of oedipal hostility. Not one of the girls felt her mother was nicer to her. Five of the nine girls gave clear preference to the father, and four of them were either evasive or gave the conventional answer that both were equally nice. With the boys the relationship was reversed. Four of them gave clear preference to the mother, and four were either evasive, undetermined or conventional, deciding for neither parent. Three of the boys gave preference to their fathers and careful scrutiny of certain factors in their family relationships can explain their choice. Jack's case was already discussed, and it was pointed out that with his mother holding the dominant position in the family, Jack might have found it difficult to make the proper father identification. The same was true in the case of Stanley whose father was very weak and indulgent, while his mother was alternatingly domineering, indulgent and punitive. With Philip the situation was different. He had a very strict father, punitive and lacking in understanding. His mother was detached and afraid of Philip's bad behavior, leaving his care mostly to his older sisters. His mother spoke of his symptoms, of which there were many, with an air of aloofness and a certain resigned helplessness. She did not attempt to cope with his problems, almost seemed afraid of them and evaded her responsibility by entrusting Philip to his sisters' care. It may very well have been that Philip preferred his father because he preferred punitive attention to no attention at all. Also, his father did not seem to be afraid of his problems and destructive impulses, and thus did not strengthen Philip's anxiety.

There was an additional factor which might have made the choice of the parent of the opposite sex more difficult for the boys than for the girls. Customarily, the mother is in charge of the child's care, and thus has more opportunity than the father to discipline him. This factor may make it more difficult for boys to give undivided preference to the mother.

Summary

As a second technic in investigating hostile fantasies each

child had a free-play interview. All the children of the group expressed some degree of hostility in these sessions, variations in frequency and intensity being great from child to child.

The free-play interviews were not only conducive to the observation of hostility, but lent themselves also to the study of some of the children's sexual curiosity, feelings of sibling rivalry, their habit of hoarding toys, and the meaning of their drawings.

Inquiries as to which parent the children preferred revealed that none of the girls gave preference to their mothers, and only three of the boys gave preference to the father. The implications of this inverse relationship were discussed.

Chapter IV

FIRST CHECK ON HOSTILITY BEHAVIOR IN A REAL-LIFE SITUATION: THE PARENT INTERVIEW

Objectives

The parent interviews were conducted in an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. How much hostility did the children really show in the everyday occurrences portrayed in the ten stories?
2. What was the nature of their family relationships? What were the methods of discipline used?
3. How well adjusted were these children on the whole?
4. How well accepted were they by their parents?

A. Preliminary Experimentation

An interview schedule was devised and tried out on several parents who had children of ages comparable to those of the experimental group. It was revised until the questions yielded full and illuminating answers under conditions of at least minimal cooperation. Questions leading to yes-and-no-answers were avoided whenever possible. The final form of the interview schedule was adopted when it brought forth what was judged to be a living and cohesive picture of the child in particular, and of the family unit in general.

The experimenter had no illusions about the shortcomings of interviewing technics. Some of the recognized limitations of this method are that not everything the parents said could be taken at face value, and that there would be many things they could or would not talk about, partly because of reserve, partly because of lack of awareness and insight. In spite of

these limitations, contact with the parents was invaluable, because it afforded an opportunity for the experimenter to inquire into situations in which parents alone can see their children. Furthermore, since the parents were the children's first object of love, they are also the first targets of their resentment. The experimenter hoped that through interviewing the parents and evaluating these interviews clinically, more could be learned about the parents than by merely considering their verbal testimony. The tone of voice with which they speak about their children, for example, may at times convey meaning that is not eaident in words. Meeting the parents, going to some of their homes, seeing them handle their children, sheds light on what kind of persons they are, what their pleasures and satisfactions, their grievances and hostilities are. Every one of these factors has, of course, a profound effect upon the children.

B. Procedure

1. Preliminary arrangements

It was not always easy to arrange for an interview with the parents, who were hard-working people with little time and many responsibilities. Frequently the teachers were instrumental in arranging appointments. In other cases the experimenter interviewed the parent when the latter called for the child at the nursery school.

Once the parent had agreed to the interview its purpose was explained in the following manner: "Your little boy (or girl) was one of the children who has been observed in connection with a study which we are conducting at present. You would be helping us greatly by letting us talk over with you some of the questions that you, as a parent, and we as guidance workers, face in common. We feel that you can contribute a great deal to the understanding of children in general by passing on to us some of your observations."

By stressing the research aspects of the inquiry, acceptance of the experimenter's taking verbatim notes was facilitated.

2. Interview schedule

(a) Questions covering the situations presented to the children in the form of stories:

I am now going to give you some illustrations of situations which are likely to occur in any family, and I should like to know how your little boy (or girl) is apt to act in such situations.

1. For instance, if you have to go through a particular cleaning routine with him which he dislikes, let us say tooth-brushing, or ear-washing, what is he likely to do?

2. It probably happens sometimes that the little boy has a penny or a nickel with which he wishes to buy some candy for himself. There will be times when you will have to forbid him to do that, as you don't want him to spoil his appetite for dinner. What is he likely to do when you deny his wish?

3. What happens if your little boy has a fight with a friend and you feel from the evidence that you should take the other youngster's part? What is your little boy likely to do if you attempt to defend the other child?

4. How does your little boy react when you give some of his things away, particularly things he likes well? And how does he feel when you tell him that he is getting to be a big boy?

5. What happens, for instance, when the little boy claims your attention when you are too busy to give it to him? What is he likely to do? (The following also covers story No. 7): When he claims his father's attention when the father is unable to give it to him, does he act in the same way or differently? Please give me some illustrations.

6. Have you ever had any difficulties with him when you insist that he wear galoshes or a warm sweater? How do those difficulties show?

8. What happens when you tell your little boy he should clean up a mess he has made?

9. Do you have any difficulties making him eat dishes he dislikes? What usually happens on such occasions?

10. (In cases of children with siblings.) Have you ever noticed signs of jealousy in your little boy of his brother (s) or sister (s)? How do you think he would feel if you would tell him today that he is going to have a little baby brother?

(In cases of only children.) Have you ever asked your little boy how he would feel if he had a little baby brother? Do you think he would love to have one, or would he rather want to stay the only child? Can you think of instances illustrating your point?

(b) Questions covering family relationships: Does your little boy mind well? And when he does, is it affection, fear, or respect which makes him mind? Is the same true when he is with his father?

(c) Questions covering discipline: What are your methods of discipline? Do you feel you spoil your child more than other parents do, or do you think you are stricter?

(d) Overall adjustment questions concerning subject: How does your little boy get along with other children?

You probably know that difficulties of the kind which I am going to describe to you are very common in children. Did your little boy have any of the following at any time, and how long did they persist?

1. Stuttering, stammering
2. Thumb-sucking
3. Feeding whims
4. Nail biting
5. Tics
6. Constipation

7. Temper-tantrums
8. Soiling
9. Bed-wetting
10. Day-wetting
11. Vomiting
12. Fears
13. Day-dreaming
14. Masturbation
15. Night terrors
16. Nightmares
17. Persisting in baby talk
18. Others

(e) Questions exploring parental acceptance or rejection of subject: Can you tell me what were the most and least enjoyable aspects of being a mother (or father) to (name of child).

Then a list of thirty adjectives out of Allport's psycholexical collection of trait descriptions were submitted to the parent with the following instructions:

Will you please put yourself in another person's place in describing your child, and will you check these items which apply to your little boy (or girl). Consider each item carefully!

The list comprised the following trait descriptions.

Bright or intelligent	Appreciative
Stubborn	Moody
Ambitious	Kind-hearted
Destructive	Adaptable
Lazy	Clumsy
Obedient	Untruthful
Suspicious	Forgiving
Sociable	Selfish
Witty	Clean
Grouchy	Boastful
Generous	Helpful
Affectionate	Fresh or talking back
Creative	Frank
Cruel	Bossy
Disobedient	Noisy

(It was the underlying assumption of this last technic that predominantly positive or negative trait choices would give an indication of the parent's attitude toward the child.)

C. Interview Conditions

At least one parent of each of the twenty children was interviewed. In thirteen of the cases the experimenter met both parents. Only one of the single informants was a father, the rest were mothers, who as a rule were much better informed about the development of their children than were the fathers. In six cases both parents were interviewed together and it was left up to them to decide who wanted to give a certain kind of information. The controversies and discussions that ensued

at times were most revealing. So was the incidental observation of the parents' ways of handling their children, and also of the children's behavior in response to the parents. Unfortunately this opportunity did not offer itself throughout, for eight of the interviews were held at the nursery school.

Most homes were overcrowded, but generally clean. Even though some of the children had their own rooms in which they played, quite a few of them slept in their parents' room.

The experimenter encountered astonishing frankness and cooperation on the part of the parents. Their generally excellent relationship with, as well as their indebtedness to the nursery school undoubtedly was a factor in the situation. Most of the parents seemed to enjoy the interview; some frankly admitted they did. The experimenter spent as much as two to four hours in some of the homes, her visit being made a part of the daily routine which was carried out in her presence. The average interview lasted approximately an hour.

D. Incidence of Hostility at Home

All of the children were reported to have shown hostility, resentment or antagonism at home at one time or another. The hostility tallies recorded ranged from 4 to 40, with an average of 18.3 tallies per child. This universality of real-life hostility in these pre-school children really is of less significance than that observed in the play sessions, for in dealing with the bulk of information extending over a long period of time in close association with the parents, incidents of hostility are bound to be reported. It is natural that even the most submissive child shows occasional traces of antagonism in the course of his up-bringing.

E. Types of Situations Arousing Most And Least Hostility

By far the most irritation and protest were encountered in the situations in which the father or the mother were prevented from responding to the child's bid for attention. Eigh-

teen of the twenty parents reported resentment and anger in their children when such occasions arose. In that connection it was also of interest to note differences in reaction on the part of the children to mother and father, as well as the occasional hostility on the part of the parents in their annoyance over the children's insistence.

To quote a few of the parents' answers:

Jack's mother: "In such a situation he invariably gets mad. He yells at me when I don't pay attention to him, 'I won't tell you anything no more. You don't want to listen to me, anyway!' His father gives him all the time he wants, so that this occasion does not arise with him so much. He fools around with him a great deal and he considers him his pet."

Kay's mother: Her answer portrayed her helplessness in relation to Kay, and elicited very revealing behavior from Kay who sat in the next room, listening, refusing to leave. "When I don't give her my attention she gets very mad. She takes it for granted that I wait on her right away. In such a situation she does not really cry, she whines. She wants her own way in almost everything. And I blame myself for this, because I give in when she gets me upset by calling and calling."

Hearing this, Kay shouted triumphantly from the next room, "Did you hear that? Mother blames herself for it!" Mother: "She got punished today." Kay: "Oh, don't tell her, you dope!" E.: "Why did she get punished?" Kay shouting in between, "I like to be punished, I don't care! . . . I like to be punished all my life!"

When asked how she acts when her father is unable to give her the attention she wants, the mother replied, "There she acts differently. She does not ask him for things. And sometimes he gets mad and then he tells me I spoil her." Kay misunderstood the last statement and twisted it, making it conform to her own wishes. She said, "Yes, Daddy spoils me."

Case of Jerry. A good deal of resentment against her husband came forth in Jerry's mother's answer: "He insists that I give him my attention. If I don't, he pesters me, or he sits and pouts. When his father is home he usually gives him his attention. However, he is not much home while Jerry is awake. My husband can play with him because he is not as busy as I am. He is one of those husbands who simply won't help with the housework. Some girls are luckier than I am." The latter was said with much bitterness.

Considerable resistance to eating disliked dishes was reported.

Five of the children were quite severe feeding problems, some so severe that they had required hospitalization. A few of the mothers verbalized beautifully how aggressive elements entered into that problem.

Betsy's mother: "One thing she hates and that is vegetables. I usually have to force her and feed her. When she does not like the food she starts throwing up. Sometimes I spank her, but then she becomes stubborn and puts her finger in her mouth in order to be sure to throw up. She quite intentionally fights me when I feed her."

Jaqueline's mother: "Eating is my main problem with her. That is the origin of almost all troubles and scenes at home. She simply won't eat. When she was four months old I gave her a spoonfull of pablum and she spit it right into my face. Ever since I have had trouble with her. She will take one or two hours over a plate of food. Every day we have scenes on account of her eating habits, and she thoroughly enjoys her nuisance value. She fiddles around with food forever. I tried not to force her, hoping that she would get hungry by herself. She went three days without solid food and did not show the slightest signs of hunger. I am afraid that isn't the method either."

Tony's mother had a very sensible attitude toward her son's feeding whims, thus probably avoiding his using this channel as an outlet of his aggressions.

Tony's mother: "He dislikes pea soup and custard. When I prepare these dishes I usually do so only for the two of us. I feel I should not insist, since grown-ups don't like certain dishes either, and that he has a right to dislike some of them. I don't make a fuss over it."

By contrast, Irene's mother, who was an extremely fussy eater herself, handled the feeding situation so poorly from the start that Irene resisted the intake of practically all food. The mother was completely unaware of the possible causal relationship between the child's anorexia and the traumatic way in which she was weaned, for she said without self-consciousness:

"She was a bottle baby. When she was a year and a half old, I threw out all the bottles and said to her, 'You are too big for this.' Then she started to suck her thumb because she wanted the bottle. I did this from one day to the other as I did not want any gradual business." (It is noteworthy to mention in this connection that the only food Irene takes without protest is milk.

Situations also highly resented by the children were those in which a parent defended another child in a fight. Twelve of the twenty parents reported outbursts at such occasions. It was interesting to find some of the parents always blam-

ing their children for the fights, and others who felt it was inconceivable that their child might ever be wrong. Michael's mother, although on the whole accepting and loving, took the former attitude:

"I never say he is right when he fights with another child. Even if I feel he is, I am afraid it would spoil him. When I don't defend him he usually says angrily, 'Don't you care if they knock me off?' I am afraid he sometimes thinks I don't like him . . . . However, quite often he gives in and says to me or the other child, 'I am sorry.'"

Patsy's mother: "I do defend other children very often. She is sometimes very bossy with them. When I defend another child she makes a sad face. She wants to be first when we go to the park on the slides for instance. When she is not first, she does not become furious but no longer participates in the games."

Irene's father took the reversed position:

It never happened that she fought with another child and I defended the other one.

Stanley's mother showed considerable impulsive favoritism in her answer:

He only fights with his brother. Brother is wrong because he is the bigger one. The little one is so little that he is right. E.: "What would happen if you ever would defend brother?" Mother: Stanley would cry.

Of the 14 children who had siblings, half were reported to be rivalrous with them. It was felt, and observations of the teachers corroborated this, that quite a few of the parents were unaware of the extent of the rivalry in their children. Helen's mother testified to that effect.

Helen's mother: "I never noticed any signs of jealousy in Helen until a friend of mine informed me that Helen told her, 'Mother never kisses me, but only Harry all the time.'" Then the mother gave the basis for Helen's rivalry, saying, "We favor Harry because he is a cry-baby and so small, and he was sick a lot. We had a hard time realizing that Helen isn't grown up. Since my friend told me this, we try to be the same with Helen as with little Harry."

How unaware the parents were of rivalry feelings in children was shown by the fact that 15 out of 20 parents felt that their child would enthusiastically welcome a new sibling. Only one parent was sure that her child would have serious objections; the remaining weren't sure.

The request to wear certain clothes also aroused consid-

erable protest in the children. The girls especially rebelled against their mothers' wishes to wear certain clothes. This complaint was heard from six mothers of the nine girls in the experimental group. It centered mainly around the fact that these children wanted to wear their best clothes every day. Several mothers made allusion to using devious methods in an attempt to dissuade their children.

Alice's mother: "I sometimes have trouble with her when she wants to wear her black patent leather shoes. These shoes are for rare occasions and she pesters the life out of me so that she can wear them to school. She loves clothes and is very fussy about them. When she is not allowed to wear the dress she wants she keeps on complaining. She only gives in when I tell her some such story as that the dress is for the summer."

Boys also were found to be particular. Joel, who incidentally, had spent a great deal of time in the hospital, was not only particular but also exceedingly clean.

Joel's mother: "I never have any difficulties with him when I ask him to wear galoshes or a sweater. He is particular about his clothes, though. He is set on wearing a white shirt on Sunday, and if he could do it, he would wear a new suit every day. He likes to be dressed up and is usually proud of his looks. He is clean in other ways, too. He for instance, would not set the table without washing his hands first. And he reminds me every time I set it to wash my hands."

The situations causing relatively least friction were those dealing with cleaning routines, both personal and general.

Limitations of space do not permit the presentation of complete parent-interview protocols and of illustrative material of the type of information gathered on some of the aspects of family relationships, methods of discipline, and on the emotional adjustment of the subject. A good deal of this material will be discussed in Chapters IX, X, and XI. Since one of the technics used in gauging parental acceptance rendered particularly fruitful results, they will be presented here in greater length.

F. Naming the Most and Least Enjoyable Aspects of Parenthood as Indication of Parental Acceptance

The question concerning the most and least enjoyable aspects of parenthood turned out to be a most sensitive device

in exploring the parents' feelings toward their children. Its value lay mainly in its surprise element. After numerous factual questions mainly concerning the child, this question was aimed at the parents directly and caught most of them completely off guard. As a result it happened quite often that they hesitated a considerable time, and that many parents found it exceedingly difficult calling to mind any positive aspects of parenthood. Frequently their answer confirmed the impression gathered during the interview in its entirety; occasionally it brought forth new and unsuspected material.

Most of the time the answers were highly emotional. The examples below speak for themselves.

Case of Patsy: When asked what were the most and least enjoyable aspects of parenthood, Patsy's mother did not answer for a long time. Then she sighed, and rubbed her cheeks in embarrassment. Then with reluctance: "This is a hard question to answer." After a while again, "This is a hard question! . . . Having children, you cannot go out as often as you want . . . but of course you would want to have your own . . . I am getting so mad when they don't obey. . . . That's about all."

Case of Lottié: When Lottie's mother was asked this same question she too became very embarrassed. She smiled and paused for a long time. Then she started to laugh and she said, "I have to think . . . that's kind of hard to say . . . I cannot put my finger on it and answer. I like to see her grown up."

Jack's and Mario's mothers were more blunt and seemingly felt less guilty. This probably made it easier for them to come to grips with their negative feelings.

Mario's mother: "I don't like to be a mama. Being a mama is too much work. I don't want any more children." (She had two.)

Jack's mother: When Jack's mother was asked the question she said, "I don't know how to explain this". . . . Then after pausing for over a minute she continued, "It was really a burden to have so many children. When I discovered that I was pregnant, I felt bad about it. Then I finally made up my mind saying to myself what's the use of grieving. And once I made up my mind, I took it."

To two mothers, children meant an ego-inflating possession. Helen's mother was one of the cases in point.

Helen's mother: When she was asked the question she replied after a great deal of hesitation, "I don't know. I love to see the children happy. I like to see them dressed nicely." E.: "What are the least enjoyable aspects?" After a little hesitation, "The least enjoyable aspect is not to have the money to give them all I want to give them." And coming

back to enjoyable aspects she added, "I like to go out with them when they wear the things I make for them."

Stanley's mother: She was quite explosive in the affirmation of her fondness. "I have two nice children. I am happy about them. My kids mean everything to me; they are my life. I could throw myself down a window for them. I love them. They are the best I have, and the only thing I have. I love them . . . even more than their father."

Rudi's mother: She was more matter-of-fact, but probably more warmly accepting. "It's a natural feeling. . . . I always wanted children. When I had one child, I was unhappy that it was only one. The only thing I ever regretted in relation to my children was that I could not be with them as much as I would like to. They never were in my way. . . . I know other parents sometimes separate over their children. We feel good about them. We both have the same feelings in regard to them."

Case of Joel: Both his parents were equally enthusiastic about parenthood. When his mother was asked what she liked best and least about being a mother to Joel, she answered without hesitation, "Oh, I love him so, I always wanted him. I like everything about it and there is nothing I like least. I wanted a baby boy so badly. I made a vow for him in church. You see, I lost a child after I carried it for five months. I was not able to carry it. When he came, therefore . . . well, that was something! I loved him so, and I did not mind anything . . . not even being in the hospital for nine months while I was waiting for him." And Joel's father added, "I would want half a dozen of them . . . and yet I don't think any of them could be as nice as Joel. He is the best . . . the very best!"

Summary

The schedule used for the parent interview elicited a wealth of material on the children's display of hostility in real life. The question asked each parent, "What are the most and least enjoyable aspects of parenthood," turned out to be a very sensitive device for gauging parental attitudes. The answer to this question of the majority of the parents corroborated the impression of parental acceptance or rejection gained during the interview in its entirety.

All the children were reported to have shown hostility, resentment, or antagonism at home at one time or another. As in the stories, actual situations in which the child could construe parental neglect and lack of affection were responded to with the greatest amount of hostility. The situations causing relatively the least friction were those dealing with cleaning routines, both personal and general. Feeding whims in some children definitely were an expression of their hostility.

Chapter V

SECOND CHECK ON HOSTILITY BEHAVIOR IN A REAL-LIFE SITUATION: TEACHERS' RATINGS AND INTERVIEWS

Objectives

The rating scales were devised and given to the two teachers who conducted the kindergarten group jointly, with the instructions to rate independently each child in the following areas:

1. Strength of reaction to frustration, contradiction, on the part of peers.
2. Strength of reaction to frustration, contradiction, or denial by adults.
3. Relative success in relationships with peers.
4. Relative success in emotional adjustment.

Interviews and conferences were held with the teachers in an attempt to learn something about the child's family life, his behavior in relation to his parents, parental acceptance or rejection, and marital harmony or discord.

The rating scales were constructed with intentional briefness and simplicity, and the interviews, with the exception of the one which followed the rating-period, were all held casually, whenever the occasion arose, so as to avoid overburdening the teachers' already heavy work schedule.

A. Procedure

1. Preliminary arrangements. A date was set for a conference of the two teachers and the experimenter. The teachers then rated each child independently in the experimenter's presence. After the ratings were completed, the children were discussed in an informal way, and in a mutual exchange of observations.

The teachers were handed the following instructions:

a. Check the items which best describe the child whose name is at the top of the rating sheet. If it is absolutely impossible to fit a child into any of the five categories, check "cannot rate," and indicate why you could not. In addition in this case, check the item which comes closest to being true.

b. Do not ponder too long over any one of your ratings. Judge by your total impression.

c. Rate the entire group of children on one trait before rating on another trait.

d. Rate each child in terms of his position in his kindergarten group. Do not consider his position as compared with children in general. Therefore, do not refrain from giving extreme ratings to children, who, within your group, rate high or low.

2. Rating sheet

Child's name: Does child belong to your sub-group? Yes.No.(encircle)

Rater's name:

REACTION TO FRUSTRATION, CONTRADICTION, OR DENIAL BY PEERS

_____1. Usually reacts by screaming, cursing, or threatening, kicking, pushing, destructiveness, stubborness, etc.

_____2. Between 1 and 3.

_____3. Occasionally reacts with outbursts of above description, or more than occasional reactions of this nature, but which are mild in intensity.

_____4. Between 3 and 5.

_____5. Almost always gives in, submits.

_____ Cannot rate. Why?

REACTION TO FRUSTRATION, CONTRADICTION, OR DENIAL BY ADULTS

_____1. Usually reacts by screaming, cursing, or threatening, kicking, pushing, destructiveness, stubborness, etc.

_____2. Between 1 and 3.

_____3. Occasionally reacts with outbursts of above description, or more than occasional reactions of this nature, but which are mild in intensity.

_____4. Between 3 and 5.

_____5. Almost always complies, submits.

_____ Cannot rate. Why?

RELATIONS WITH PEERS

Consider such aspects as sociability, outgoingness, popularity, generosity, ability to share and to adjust conflicts peacefully, lack of bossiness, ability to mix well and to derive emotional satisfaction from being with children.

_____1. Has excellent relations with peers; is very popular.

_____2. Between 1 and 3.

_____3. Fairly good relations with peers; fairly well accepted.

_____4. Between 3 and 5.

_____5. Poor relations with peers; is decidedly unpopular.

_____ Cannot rate. Why?

ADJUSTMENT RATING

Consider such aspects as degree of spontaneity, happiness, ability to enter positive relationships with peers and adults, lack of shyness, ability to withstand frustration, evenness of mood level, lack of excitability, absence of symptomatic disturbances, etc.

_____1. Very well adjusted.

_____2. Between 1 and 3.

_____3. Fairly well adjusted. Adjustment neither outstandingly positive nor negative. "Gets along."

_____4. Between 3 and 5.

_____5. Poorly adjusted.

_____ Cannot rate. Why?

B. Findings on Rating Scale

1. Extent of agreement on the five point scale between the raters.

The agreement between the two teachers' ratings was fairly high, no discrepancies exceeding two points on the scale, and there were only very few showing this degree of disagreement. Relatively the most disagreement was recorded on the adjustment ratings, which is not surprising in view of the complexity of this rating. Table 2 gives an account of the percentages of agreement between the two raters.

Table 2.-Agreement Between Teachers' Ratings

	Complete agreement	1 point discr.	2 points discr.	More than 2 points discr.
Host. to peers	65%	25%	10%	none
Host. to adults	55%	35%	10%	none
Relations with peers	55%	40%	5%	none
Emotional adjustment	40%	50%	10%	none

It was interesting to contrast the combination of the teachers' ratings on adjustment with those arrived at by the experimenter with the help of the experimental evidence at hand. For this purpose, whenever there was disagreement in the teachers' ratings, their ratings were averaged, and slight preference was given the choice of the teacher to whose subgroup a particular child belonged. For example, if a child was rated 3 or "fairly well adjusted" by his own teacher, and 1 or "very well adjusted" by the other teacher, the combined rating was 2, with a tendency toward 3. The slightly heavier emphasis placed on the rating of the directly supervising teacher was made because it was assumed that the more intimate acquaintance with a given child enabled his teacher to arrive at a better founded rating. It was noteworthy that the teacher who knew the child better gave, as a rule, the more extreme ratings, and these in turn, were more in accord with the experimenter's ratings and the latter's total impression of the case. This suggested, in other words, that the teacher who did not have direct supervision of a child, and who therefore was less familiar with his per-

sonality, tended toward central or average ratings, while the directly supervising teacher and the experimenter, who had more intimate knowledge of a child, were able to make more extreme ratings in either direction.

In contrasting the combined teachers' ratings on emotional adjustment with those of the writer, disagreement occurred mostly in relation to a certain type of child, usually one who was not a disciplinary problem, who was shy, withdrawn and passive. This type of child received a much better adjustment rating from the teachers than from the experimenter. Among these children were Patsy, Alice, Tony, Mario and Barbara; they received average or better-than-average adjustment ratings from the teachers, while, in the experimenter's opinion, their adjustment was, for the most part below average when compared with the other children in the experimental group. With all other types of children there was fair agreement between the teachers' and my ratings.

2. Relationship between ratings of hostility toward peers and hostility toward adults.

The literature suggests that children who are aggressive with other children are also aggressive with adults. This suggests a general tendency toward aggressiveness. Jersild and Markey (44), for example, found correlations of .47 and .73 in different groups between children's conflicts with other children and conflicts with teachers.

In this study the rank correlation between the teachers' ratings of hostility toward peers and the teachers' ratings of hostility toward adults, was exceedingly high, namely .93. Undoubtedly this does not measure the actual relationship between the children's hostility toward peers and adults, but the teachers' ratings thereof. There might have been a carry-over effect from one rating to the next, even though the experimenter attempted to reduce this by instructing the teachers to rate the entire group on one trait before rating on any other trait. In spite of the sources of possible error the correlation is so high that a marked relationship between hostility toward other children and hostility toward adults suggests itself. At least the observations of the teachers seemed to indicate this.

C. Type of Information Yielded by Casual Interviews with Teachers

Jerry, for example, was discussed three times in all, the

first time after the stories were presented, and the last two times after all the experiments and visits were completed. The following was essentially what his teacher reported:

When seen the first time the teacher expressed considerable concern about Jerry, for she felt that he was under constant strain of some kind, originating in his home environment. After each week-end, which he spends at home, he is extremely restless, jumps from place to place, and is very likely to scream at the slightest provocation. At home, he is constantly among adults, has no play-mates, but is getting a lot of toys from his parents and his big brother.

At the next occasion his teacher reported that Jerry's father was ill in the hospital, recuperating from a stomach operation. She stated that the effects of this upset in the home were very noticeable in Jerry, that he is very restless, and "much more in the air than usual."

At the third occasion, both teachers remarked that Jerry seems to be a burden to his mother. She was said to have complained recently, "I wish he were twelve and could take care of himself." Jerry's brother is due for induction into the Army soon. The teachers stated that Jerry is constantly instigated to tell stories to the teachers in order to shield his mother's activities. (The latter, when interviewed by the experimenter, spent part of the two and one half hours that the interview lasted, complaining on the one hand of the school authorities' "interference" with her private life, and on the other hand of Jerry's unwillingness to lie for her.) The teachers noted that Jerry had begun to learn the value of his bargaining position. Recently he told his mother, right in front of the teachers, "If you will give me my boats to play with, I will sit still in the movies." The mother had been asked previously not to expose him to movies too often, for he was exceedingly frightened of them. Feeling that the movies were a relaxation she was entitled to, and not knowing where to leave Jerry, the mother went right on taking him with her, but asked him at the same time not to tattle on her.

One of the teachers had seen Jerry and his mother at a church meeting recently, and later in a restaurant. Jerry was said to have behaved beautifully, while his mother constantly nagged him.

Jaqueline was discussed four times with the teachers, and once with the school nurse. The experimenter also received a brief note from one of her teachers a year after all the data were collected.

Both teachers reported essentially the same story, namely that Jaqueline was unmanageable, and that they were at odds as to how to treat her, without saying "no" and "don't" continuously, and at the same time doing justice to the rest of the group. During the rest periods she is most restless, shouts and screams, disturbing the other children. During lunch hour she is prone to spit her food all over, and at other children. As a rule, when Jaqueline screams for one reason or another, her teacher brings her to the isolation room, impressing on her that this is not a punishment, but that it was the only place in which she can scream with-

out disturbing others. The assurance that she is not being punished does not seem to make any impression on Jaqueline, however, since she then usually screams so hard that the whole house can hear her. At such occasions she carries on physical fights, kicking and stamping. Once there, she usually falls asleep.

Both teachers, in spite of the mother's conviction to the contrary, volunteered that Jaqueline is extremely jealous of her baby brother. She frequently asks her teacher, "Do you love Jimmy? Do you love me? Whom do you love more, Jimmy or me?"

Whenever she feels guilty about something, she goes to her teacher, anxiously wanting to make up and craving reassurance and affection from her. In such instances she clings to the teacher and tries to kiss her.

The economic conditions prevailing at home were described as distressed. The father, who until recently was employed as an unskilled worker, had left his position to go to school in order to better himself. Jaqueline's mother therefore went to work to support the family, which she was able to do only inadequately. The teachers reported much discord between the parents, partly related to Jaqueline's discipline. While the mother was described as a reasonable, pleasant young woman, the father was characterized as over-strict and lacking in understanding. The mother, in her despair, had asked the teacher to talk to her husband "to straighten him out."

When Jaqueline was discussed on another occasion, her teacher told the experimenter that approximately one week after the mother was interviewed she separated from her husband after a fight. The teacher suspected that the fight was due to the fact that the father started to drink heavily and abandoned his studies. The effect of this separation became quite noticeable in Jaqueline, who became more excitable and unruly than ever. A day after the separation she used unusually foul language in school. On the date of the interview with the teacher she broke another child's glasses, and although the teacher thought it was an accident, Jaqueline insisted she did it deliberately. (Later that day, Jaqueline approached the experimenter and told her of the incident with a good deal of pride.) Also a day after her parents' separation she proclaimed proudly so that all the children could hear it, "I and mother walked out on father. I have no more father."

The next time Jaqueline was discussed was when she was heard screaming all over the building. Her teacher remarked, in spite of the tantrum, that Jaqueline was getting along a little better, and attributed that to the fact that seemingly her parents were living together again. Although she had no definite information about this, she inferred that this was the case, for the father had recently brought the children to school.

The school nurse corroborated largely what the teachers had said about Jaqueline's home. She referred to the discrepancy between the father and mother, and spoke of the mother's effort to maintain higher standards than his. She also mentioned that the mother, when she was expecting Jaqueline, had sold all her parlor furniture, had bought furniture for a nursery instead, and had turned the parlor into a nursery for Jaqueline.

On another occasion the teachers remarked that Jaqueline very shrewdly played one teacher against the other, constantly trying to check what effect her behavior might have on them.

A year later, one of the teachers wrote a letter to the experimenter mentioning among other things, "You will be glad to hear that Jaqueline is happier and more settled this year."

Summary

As a second check on the children's hostility behavior in a real-life situation their teachers were instructed to fill out a rating scale independently, which covered the children's reaction to frustration emanating from their peers and from adults, their relations with peers and their emotional adjustment. The teachers also were interviewed whenever the occasion arose, in an attempt to obtain information regarding the children's family life.

There was high agreement between the teachers' ratings of the children. In comparing their adjustment ratings with those reached by the experimenter, discrepancies were noted mainly in the evaluation of shy, passive and withdrawn children. These children, who did not constitute a disciplinary problem, received much better adjustment ratings from the teachers than from the experimenter.

The teacher to whose sub-group a given child belonged as a rule gave more extreme ratings of a child's behavior than the teacher who was not as familiar with the child. These more extreme ratings also were more in accord with the writer's ratings and with the total impression of the case. This suggested that unfamiliarity with a child resulted in central or average ratings.

In the teachers' observation children who showed a great deal of hostility against adults showed also a great deal against their peers. The rank correlation between the teachers' ratings in these two areas was .93.

Chapter VI

FRUSTRATION EXPERIMENTS

Initial Objective

Since much of the literature points to the fact that aggression is one of the most frequent effects of frustration, the idea initially suggested itself that frustration experiments might be an additional and third check on hostility behavior in a real-life situation.

Review of the Literature

The problem of the frustration phenomenon in animals and humans has been the object of a number of experimental investigations in the last ten years. The present review of the literature is limited to some of the most significant findings of frustration experiments conducted with humans.

The Yale school, and its position that aggression is always a consequence of frustration, was discussed briefly in the introductory chapter. A good many investigations supported this hypothesis. Sears, Hovland, and Miller (80), for example, had two groups of college students undergo severe frustrations while depriving them of sleep for twenty-four hours. An attempt was made to record their hostility through specially designed paper and pencil tests; the authors concluded that observation of the spontaneous aggressive behavior offers more promise than these tests. Frederiksen (35), with the help of a series of standardized test situations, found that the amount of frustration resulting from adult interferences was positively related to the amount of negativistic behavior exhibited by young children. Burton (18), considering satiation a form of frustration, watched the behavior of a group of preschool children who were satiated with re-

petitious peg insertion. He concluded that the aggression observed in the sated children verified Dollard's postulate that aggression is always a consequence of frustration. Burton then discussed the wider implications of this satiation-aggression sequence, drawing attention to the influence of long work periods and work conditions which lead to satiation on disciplinary problems in school and on labor unrest in industry. Sears and Sears (81) and Marquis (58) studied the effects of the frustration involved in interfering with the intake of food by very small infants. Although these authors did not interpret the babies' behavior as denoting aggression, their reactions, nevertheless, were marked. These reactions varied with the strength of instigation of the hunger drive. Marquis also concluded that there were marked quantitative and qualitative individual differences among newborn infants in response to this frustrating situation. The babies' reactions consisted mainly of body movements, crying, and mouth movements.

Doob and Sears (29), co-authors of "Frustration and Aggression" wrote an article in the same year in which that book was published, modifying the one-to-one relationship between frustration and aggression, and suggesting that in many frustrating situations it is difficult to find evidence of either substitute responses or overt aggression in the behavior of the frustrated person. The experimental evidence gathered by some authors points to the fact that regression frequently follows frustration. Barker, Dembo and Lewin (10), particularly, are exponents of this theory. They first gave two to five year old children some attractive toys, and later returned the subjects to their previous collection of less inviting toys while the better ones were left in sight behind a barrier of wire netting. They found that marked changes in mood and emotional expression as well as regression occurred, reflected in the lower constructiveness of the children's play in using the older toys. French (36), in a more theoretical paper discusses reactions to frustrations largely in terms of Lewin's formulation, postulating that frustration disorganizes goal-seeking into more elementary strivings. Seashore and Bavelas (82) demonstrated this mechanism of adaptation experimentally by asking children to draw a man an indefinite number of times. With increasing satiation the quality of their work deteriorated; less time was spent on the task, and resentment was verbalized.

Barker (9) pointed out that frustration may also have stimulating effects.

Frustration may result in a reduction or in an increase in the efficiency of the cognitive abilities in general. Which of these effects is obtained depends upon the nature of the needs and actions involved, the strength of the forces, and the properties of the particular perceptual-cognitive-motor system (9, p. 150).

Britt and Janus (15) in their conclusions stress the multiplicity of reactions to frustration.

Reactions to frustration may be aggression, withdrawal, regression, resistance, anger, guilt and remorse, shame and embarrassment (15, p. 466).

Zander's (95) experimental study seems to bear out this statement for he concludes that in his group the frustration situation

led to a change in the behavior of each subject, but no one form of behavior was a typical occurrence (95, p. 34).

Sherman and Jost's (84) experimental results also pointed to multiple reactions to frustration. They presented to groups of well-adjusted and poorly-adjusted children three types of problem-solving situations, including in their observations certain reactions observed through a number of physiological measurements. Their observations did not corroborate the findings of other authors that aggressive or regressive behavior inevitably result from failures or frustrating experiences. Rather the subjects' response to frustration was variable and characteristic of their habitual mode of reacting to obstacles. The authors concluded therefore that the findings under such experimental conditions may furnish clues to certain personality characteristics.

Brown (16) also experimented with differences in reaction to frustration between psychiatric patients and normal individuals asking his subjects to find a third and impossible solution to a problem (modified Dembo technic). He found that the behavior of psychoneurotic and psychotic patients in a frustrating situation was much more variable and unpredictable than was the behavior of normals.

Rosenzweig (75), who has done exhaustive work on the problem of frustration, suggested in one of his articles that frustration tolerance

might even provide a working definition of the difference between the

psychotic, -- in whom a generalized low frustration tolerance would be said to obtain; the neurotic, -- in whom certain circumscribed areas of low frustration tolerance (complexes) might be posited; and the normal individual, -- in whom relatively high frustration tolerance would usually be found throughout the personality (75, p. 153).

In setting up the frustration experiments in the present study the hypothesis that aggression is the most natural, unlearned reaction to frustration was kept in mind. According to this hypothesis, withdrawal or other adaptations are usually learned or conditioned reactions based on the experience that aggression was followed by punishment. Accordingly, if aggression is one of the most natural and common effects of frustration observation of the children's reaction to frustration experiments theoretically should yield clues concerning their expression of hostility in real life.

Also, in setting up the frustration experiments for this study the effects of frustration incurred under varying social conditions was considered worth investigating. The question posed was: Is there a difference between the reaction to frustration caused by the ill-will or arbitrariness of the experimenter, and the reaction to frustration which, according to appearances, is caused by frustrating circumstances such as a social law?

One of Marston's (59) five experiments which attempted to measure degrees of introversion and extroversion in young children, served as an inspiration for a frustration experiment in which the interference obviously stemmed from ill-will on the part of the experimenter. Marston, on the assumption that extroverts are more assertive than introverts, tried to differentiate between them by attempting to measure the degree of their self-assertion. He confronted them with the choice among three equally attractive toys. Whatever the child's choice, he was given one of the toys he had not chosen with the promise that he could play with the other toys after he had played with the one given him. After a certain time limit he was given the second non-preferred toy. At the end he was allowed to play with the preferred toy. Behavior reactions to this situation were recorded.

For a frustration experiment involving a social law, the studies by Fajans (33) and Sliosberg (85) were vaguely suggestive. The former suspended a chocolate bar just beyond the reach of a child's grasp and later hid it, observing the

child's reaction all along. The latter substituted little pieces of cardboard, after the child had consumed half of a real piece of chocolate. Actually both these studies suggested a useful medium for the inducement of frustration rather than a structurally desirable experimental setting.

A. Experimental Procedure

1. Experiment in which frustration is inflicted by the ill-will of the experimenter.

The experiment occurred at the beginning of the second session with the child. As he entered the play-room presumably for another play session, he found, instead of the attractive dolls used the previous time, just two toys. They were purposely of unequal attractiveness. One of them was an intriguing mechanical toy, consisting of little red-feathered hens which bent their heads up and down by means of strings. They were assembled in a circle on a wooden tray; the strings attached to their heads were gathered in the center going through a hole, and attached to them was a wooden weight. By holding the tray and swinging the weight in rotation, one hen after the other bent its head, making a clicking noise on the tray as if it were pecking up food. The other toy, by contrast, was a simple and ordinary rubber duck, which, through an opening in the bottom was able to make squeaking noises. The rubber duck was purposely "babyish," and therefore presumably uninteresting for children of the age of the experimental group.

The child was confronted with a choice between the two toys. When he indicated his preference, he was given the nonpreferred toy without explanation. The child was kept from playing with the preferred toy for three minutes and was referred back to the non-preferred toy whenever he abandoned it. In an attempt to capture the child's reaction to the experimenter's willful and arbitrary action, verbatim notes of the conversation and observation of the child's activity were taken. After three minutes the child was permitted to play with the preferred toy.

2. Experiment in which frustration was caused by frustrat-

ing circumstances, such as a social law.

After the child had finished playing with the preferred toy, the experimenter proceeded to take out and line up the toys used for the play interview. Essentially all the toys previously used were brought out, with the exception of the doll bathroom-set, which had proved to be of great attraction-value to most children. The experimenter told the child casually that he would find the bathroom-set in a particular box. In that box he also found some very appetizing, vari-colored candy which appeared to be there merely by accident. The expectation was that most children in this situation would make overtures to obtain some of the candy. In the cases where overtures were not forthcoming, the experimenter said apologetically before explaining why she was unable to give candy to the child, "I suppose you would like me to offer you some." With or without overtures on the part of the child, the experimenter proceeded to explain to the child that she would have very much liked to give him some candy, but that this was impossible because (1) visitors were not permitted to give sweets to the children in the nursery school, and (2) candy could not be eaten before lunch. With these explanations the experimenter casually took the candy tray and placed it somewhere within sight and reach of the child. No further comment was made, but minute notes were taken on the child's reaction to this situation.

B. Illustrative Case Material

A few illustrations of observations are given here for the purpose of showing some of the children's reactions to the two types of frustration experiments.

Case of Irene. First frustration experiment: When confronted with the choice between the two toys, Irene indicated she wished to play with the feathered hens. When she was given the duck instead, she hesitated for a moment, nonplused, but then picked it up and squeezed it. She paid little attention to it, however, and looked at the preferred toy instead. After a little while she started to squeeze the duck's head more forcefully. At that point she said with impatience, "What else do you have in your suitcase?" When Irene was referred back to the non-preferred toy she

started to bang and batter the duck again and said with considerable impatience, "What else are we going to play with today? I want to play with those others." At that point she completely discarded the nonpreferred toy, saying in a conclusive tone of voice, "The ducky goes to the barn and sleeps." Thus, discarding the nonpreferred toy for one entire minute, she looked around the room restlessly. Then she took it back and battered and boxed it. Referring to the preferred toy she said angrily, "The turkeys hurt the duck; they don't like it." Irene then took the duck and said tensely, "I am going to roll it into a snake." E.: "Why?" Irene: "Because I don't like it."

After the three minutes were up, Irene was given the preferred toy. She played with it for a while with much absorption. Then she proceeded to take revenge on the nonpreferred toy. She put the duck on the tray to which the hens were attached, and made it fall on the floor at least ten times. She roared with gleeful laughter because, "the duck gets such a beating." Finally, she put the duck in the center of the tray from which the hens supposedly pick up food and said, "The hens are going to eat up the duck."

Second frustration experiment: When Irene discovered the candies, she immediately guarded herself against the temptation by saying, "They are not to play with." However, when E. took them out of the box she overcame her inhibitions and said, "I want to have one." When told why she could not have any candy, she did not say a word, but pursed her lips to a pout. She left matters at that for the time being. Every now and then she looked over to the candy sternly, stopping in her activities of the moment. She expressed her resentment at various intervals during the free play interview.

At one point she asked, "Who eats this candy?" E.: "Anybody can eat it, only we cannot eat it now." S.: "I would like to have some. But I cannot have any, I know. Mommy never will let me have any." Thereupon S. showed considerable destructiveness in throwing all the toys and doll furniture over. After that outburst she played peacefully for a little while. Then again she asked. "Who eats this candy?" At this point her saliva began to flow. When she was again given the same explanation, she renewed her destructiveness, overthrew the toys, and mixed them with the candy. Her behavior became quite wild and she finally resorted to throwing toy furniture over E.'s pad, thus preventing her from writing. After she had indulged in this for a minute or so, she settled down and drew.

Again, after a little while, she returned to the subject of candy by saying in a whining voice three times in succession, "Who is going to eat those?" She started to handle each piece of candy, and again her saliva flowed. She then complained, "Mommy don't give me no candy. Daddy don't buy me any." When she was given the same explanation again, she made a toy car run over E.'s hands, thus preventing her from writing. She finally resorted to open threats, saying, "If you go out I will gobble them all up." She then handled each piece of candy. She proceeded to arrange them according to certain color patterns. Then she decided it would be easier for her to place the candy out of reach, and removed it to the furthest corner of the table. She still was unable to forget, how-

ever, and repeated her threat to eat it four times. Each time she went through the motion of chewing. As E. made no further comment, she finally was able to discard the candy, starting to explore the suitcase for more toys.

Brief analysis. Compared with the other children in the experimental group, Irene showed a low degree of frustration tolerance to both experiments. Her reaction was rather severe, and the sequence of her emotions and conflicts became quite transparent in her activity and comments. She responded to the first frustration by a series of reactions. Attempts to accept the situation were followed by tense abreaction of her feelings. Aggression was directed toward the toy almost exclusively, but the responsibility for even that aggression was not readily assumed by Irene, who tried to rationalize her own dislike for the nonpreferred toy by accusing the preferred toy of such feelings.

It was previously mentioned that Irene presented a severe case of anorexia, and that she refused to take practically any food other than milk. Therefore, her severe reaction to the deprivation of candy as well as the indication of oral aggression at the end of the first experiment ("The hens are going to eat up the duck") were highly significant. Her feelings of resentment were expressed more directly in the second experiment, with an occasional attack on E., and one wonders whether this was the case because the frustration occurred in the area of food in which Irene has focused all her difficulties.

Case of Tony. First frustration experiment: When confronted with the choice between the two toys, Tony, surprisingly, chose the duck. When he was given the hens instead, he immediately said, with stubborness in his voice, "I don't want to play with this. I don't want it." He took the toy and threw it away. After a little while he picked it up again and made the following remark: "They have little tails! Tattle-tales they are! Why don't you let me play with the duck?" This was said in an angry and resentful voice. E.: "You play with this!" Tony started to handle the hens roughly, trying to tear the strings. He then said in a resentful tone of voice, "You are a different lady today." E.: "Do I look different?" S.: "Yes." E.: "Do I look nicer or not as nice as the other time?" S.: "You looked much nicer yesterday." And then with a pouting face, "I don't want to play with this. I don't want to." He started to get restless. He rocked about on his chair and stamping his foot he asked, "What shall we do?" E.: "You play with this for a while." S. became more and more restless and said at this point with a good deal of resentment, "I don't want to play with this."

After the three minutes were over, he finally was given the preferred toy, the duck. He played with it restlessly and tensely. He turned its throat and made it say, "Quack, quack!" He made the duck quack at every hen of the nonpreferred toy, as if in contempt. Then he made the duck cry because "its mother hit it." When Tony was told that he could have some other toys whenever he was finished playing, he immediately put aside the duck in expectancy of more toys to come.

Brief analysis: Tony, when compared with the other children in the group, showed a low level of frustration tolerance, reacting rather severely. One of the most striking occurrences in the experiment was his

choice of the duck, a toy, which, as far as his chronological age was concerned, he should have outgrown completely. This choice was very uncommon in the experimental group, and when it occurred it was highly significant. In Tony's case, it can be explained in terms of his regressive wishes and unwillingness to relinquish his place as baby of the family, which was previously mentioned. Possibly his vigorous protest against the more "grown up" toy was partially motivated by an anxiety at having to engage in more mature activities. In contrast to Irene, a good deal of his resentment was directed against E., and very likely, the latters' shift from permissiveness in the first session and her restrictiveness in the beginning of the second was as frustrating to Tony as the experiment itself.

Case of Joel. Second frustration experiment: When Joel discovered the candy in the box he exclaimed, "What's that?" E.: "Candy." S.: "For boys?" E.: "Yes." S.: "For little boys?" E.: "Yes, but . . . ." (explanation why he could not have any ensued.) Joel did not say anything until E. took the candy out of the box, putting it within sight and reach of him. Seeing that, Joel said reproachfully and somewhat angrily, "What you putting them here for?" Then he tried to divert himself. He took the father doll and put it in one of the toy cars. He said, "Daddy drives around the candy; he runs Mommy over. The little boy passes by the candy. He does not see it."

Only much later, and after playing in deep absorption with the toys available to him, Joel thought again about the candy. He asked, "What kind are they?" E.: "Sugar kind." S.: "I haven't had any yet." E. again explained the rules and expressed regret over not being able to give him any candy. Joel at that point said very forcefully and reproachfully, "What have you got them here for then?" E.: "For no particular reason. They just happen to be among the toys." With this explanation Joel settled down to play again.

Brief analysis: Joel's resentment was not quite as outspoken as that of the previous children, but still above average as compared with the remaining children in the experimental group. His initial caution, which probably was an attempt to avoid possible pain, was probably characteristic of Joel generally. He made several attempts to assimilate the blow he had received, and he was relatively successful. On the surface his diversionary activity, in which he made the father doll drive around the candy, and the little boy not see it, seemed to stem from a desire to cope with the problem by evading it.

C. Noteworthy Findings in the Frustration Experiments

1. Incidents of person-directed and object-directed hostility.

There was a marked difference between the two experiments. In the first frustration experiment 14 of the children

abreacted most of their hostility on to the nonpreferred toy. Only 2 of them primarily showed their hostility toward the experimenter. The remaining 4 either showed hostility to neither or to both. In the second frustration experiment this relationship was reversed. In it, 13 children showed hostility primarily toward the experimenter. In only one of them was mainly object-directed hostility shown when a child attempted to destroy the candy. The remaining 6 children either showed no personal or object-directed hostility, or showed both.

The difference in response is mainly explainable in the light of the difference in experimental media. Since the nonpreferred toy in the first experiment lent itself to abreaction of hostility, the expression of hostility was mainly object-directed. Since the candy in the second experiment afforded no such outlet, whatever hostility was aroused had to be more or less person-directed. The difference in the social situations in the two experiments probably did not account for the dissimilar hostility expression.

Some illustrations of the two varieties of hostility might be indicated here. Tony's remark following frustration, "You are a different lady today" was an example of person-directed hostility. The following were a few others:

I don't need to play here. I can play at home.

I don't have to get your candy! Mommy will give me some.

S. tattled on E., saying aggressively, "She has candy but don't give me any."

The following were examples of object-directed hostility:

S. threatened to destroy toy, "I am going to break it." Or, "I am going to throw it out the window." (Person-directed hostility probably was implicit in this and the next example.)

May I put the candy into water?

S. rolls candy in the floor dust.

S. "punished" preferred or nonpreferred toy by bossing, slapping, and scolding it.

Ducky (nonpreferred toy) hurts himself.

S. makes the duck say, "I am going to get drowned."

S. made dolls stampede all over the candy.

2. Reactions to frustration other than aggression.

(a) Noncompliance: Noncompliance in all cases aimed at offsetting the frustration experienced. In many cases non-

compliance contained traces of hostility. The following were examples of noncompliance:

Nagging for preferred toy or candy.

Seeking direct or indirect contact with preferred toy or candy.

Threatening, "I'll just grab the candy. I'll gobble it all up!"

S. smelled, licked, or ate the candy before E.'s eyes or behind her back.

Patsy gave a classic example of attempted deceit in the second frustration experiment.

> After apparently accepting the fact that she was not to have any candy, she waited until she thought E. was looking in another direction. At that point she started to handle the candy and was discovered in the motion of putting a piece in her mouth. Realizing that she was observed she quickly tried to make her activity legitimate by saying, "Let me put the candy in a circle." In doing so she handled each piece of candy and after her fingers were good and sticky, she licked them with much satisfaction.

(b) Feelings of guilt: Guilt feelings usually appeared in the place of unexpressed hostile impulses, or as a sequence to acts of hostility. For example:

Righting a committed or intended "wrong" act defensively. (See Patsy above.)

After considering the destruction of a toy (verbalized or secretly intended) S. turns to E. saying, "No, I must not break it." Or, "No, you would mind if I did."

(c) Evasion, withdrawal, regression, inhibition, rationalization and acceptance: These mechanisms are lumped together here because they all deviate from hostility, the unlearned and most direct response to frustration. They are all reactions which are probably acquired in the process of socialization. Previous experience, social conditioning, or fear of pain and punishment were probably strong factors in causing withdrawal, regression and some of the other methods of adaptation.

Attempts on the children's part to accept and play with the nonpreferred toy in spite of the frustration they suffered were classified as examples of acceptance. Such remarks as, "Let's make believe they are my candies . . . but they aren't really mine," were also put in that category, for they seemed to reveal an attempt to accept reality.

Rationalizations occurred very frequently, and often had

a note of hostility in them as well. All "sour-grapes" reactions were classified in this category. To illustrate with a few examples:

After showing strong object-directed hostility, one subject said, "I don't want to tear the ducky. I like the ducky." (In this example, apart from rationalization, guilt feelings, repressed hostility, and an attempt to accept the nonpreferred toy also became evident.)

In spite of E.'s explicit explanation to the contrary, subject said, "You will give me some candy later." Or, "Sometime when there will be a party I will get these candies."

S. shouted defensively, viewing the candy, "No, I don't want any!"

Examples of regression in the Lewinian sense were observed quite frequently as a consequence of frustration. Lewin equated with regression a de-differentiation and break in the constructiveness of play following frustration. Restlessness, distractability, bids for more toys, leaving the experimental field by wandering around in the room, and introducing baby-talk were all observed examples of regression in that sense. To some extent these modes of behavior also represented an evasion and withdrawal from the frustrating situation.

3. Significance of the toy choice.

The overwhelming majority of the children made the expected choice of the hens as their preferred toy. Only four of the twenty children indicated that they liked the duck better. Their choice of the more infantile toy was always diagnostically significant, and consistent with the evidence otherwise accumulated on their personality. Tony, Betsy, Philip, and Stanley were the children who preferred the duck. Betsy and Philip were by far the youngest children in the group, both of them barely four years old. In addition, Philip was one of the worst-adjusted and immature children of the group. Betsy also, even though she was intellectually precocious, was emotionally somewhat immature for her age. Stanley, although almost five, was extremely infantile, and emotionally acted like a much younger child. There was no constructiveness or continuity in his play, and he lacked all organized effort and self-sufficiency. Tony's regressive wishes were mentioned several times before, and his choice of the duck could be interpreted as a return to earlier, more infantile preoccupations.

4. Carry-over effect of frustration on subsequent activities.

It occurred frequently that the frustration experiments set in motion feelings of frustration which did not subside even after the desired goal was reached. This, and the possibility that feelings of antagonism were only partially and inadequately discharged, appeared to be the explanation for the restless, unsatisfying play occasionally observed in children after they had received the preferred toy. This was the case in 7, or 35%, of the children. Five of these 7 children showed an extremely low level of frustration tolerance.

The following are examples of the effect of frustration carried over to subsequent activities:

Immediate release of the preferred toy upon the offer of new toys.

Refusal to play with the preferred toy.

Punitive action against preferred or nonpreferred toy which was intense in quality.

The carry-over effect must have been even stronger in the second frustration experiment, since there no attempt was made to dissolve frustration by giving in to the child's wish. However, the evidence of this carry-over was diffuse and at times untraceable in the multitude of activities during the play interview. In the first frustration experiment the evidence was gathered much more easily, since all the children were submitted to standard procedure in which an attempt was made to offset frustration. Observation of their behavior in this set condition offered a basis for comparison among the children.

5. First frustration experiment producing quantitatively more hostility.

When the scored hostility tallies were added up for both experiments, the first frustration experiment produced roughly four times as many hostility tallies as the second frustration experiment. The following are a few of the possible explanations for this sizeable difference.

(a) The instigator of frustration must have been much more clearly perceived by the children in the first frustration experiment than in the second one in which frustration was caused in the name of a social rule. Consequently hostility could be expressed more directly. This observation tied in with Dollard's (28) statement that:

the strongest instigation aroused by a frustration is to acts of aggression directed against the agent perceived to be the source of the frustration and progressively weaker instigations are aroused to progressively less direct acts of aggression (28, p. 39).

(b) The situation in the first experiment may actually have been felt to be more frustrating to the children, either because the denied media were more appealing to them, or because they sensed the ill will, and by inference, the rejection to the experimenter more in that first experiment. Also, some of the children may have felt the injustice of the arbitrary denial more keenly than the refusal coupled with a rational explanation.

(c) The media in the first frustration experiment actually might have lent themselves better to the expression of hostility and observation of abreaction of resentment. The rubber duck, which for most of the children was the nonpreferred toy, lent itself to squeezing, boxing, battering, biting and many other similar modes of abreaction. There was no such catalytic agent in the second experiment. Because of this, and because hostility was not released as directly, veiled forms of it quite often appeared in the subsequent play interview.

It is difficult to judge which factor primarily bears the responsibility of the higher hostility scores in the first experiment. They all seem to enter in to an undetermined degree.

6. Correlation between the two frustration experiments.

A rank correlation of .29 was obtained between the hostility tallies of the two experiments. This correlation is obviously too low to use in predicting the results of one frustration experiment from the other. It is not even significantly different from zero at the 5% level. Approximately half of the children showed inconsistencies, earning above average hostility tallies in one of the experiments and below average hostility tallies in the other. Probably the reasons enumerated in explanation of the quantitative difference between the two experiments also hold true in explaining the low coefficient of rank correlation obtained.

D. Basis for Discarding the Frustration Experiments as a Check on Hostility Behavior in a Real-Life Situation

While the frustration experiments seemed at first to be

very promising experimental tools to check on the children's reaction to frustration in real life, the idea of using them for this purpose was abandoned for a number of theoretical and practical reasons.

1. A very low correlation was obtained between the hostility tallies of the two experiments, which may have been caused by a number of factors such as the fact that the social situation in the two frustrating experiences was inherently different, or that one type of frustration was felt more strongly, either because of the differences in the social situation, or in the strength of the wish denied. The difference between the two experiments, which at first was thought to be experimentally interesting, turned out to be cloud the issue, at least as far as the quantitative treatment was concerned.

2. Another reason was the fact that these experiments were preceded by a play session (the presentation of the stories), in which the children had come to know the experimenter as an extremely permissive person, not comparable to the persons by whom frustration is usually inflicted in real life. In addition, the frustration experiments were given when the children anticipated another play session, so that they occurred altogether in the setting of a play situation.

3. Another reason, tying in closely with the one just discussed, was the fact that the children were eager to play with the experimenter, and thus tried to please her, and that the friction element which is accumulated as a by-product of socialization between parent and child was lacking. Since the experimenter was not associated with the educative and socializing processes in these children's lives, but purely with pleasure-giving, gratifying experiences of play, she might actually have been a poor parent-surrogate. Frustration inflicted by her might have been less expected, and therefore either more strongly responded to, or more easily accepted, since it did not set in motion feelings of resentment derived from previous frustrating experiences.

For all these reasons the impression was gained that the frustration experiments were not comparable to the other real-life situations, and were discarded for consideration in the subsequent comparison between play and real-life situations. The technics used and the illustrations are given here because clinically and dynamically interesting behavior was elicited, which was important in the understanding of the

thinking and feeling of these children. Furthermore some of these findings may be useful to other investigators in setting up frustration experiments.

Summary

Two structurally dissimilar frustration experiments were administered to each child at the beginning of the second play session. They aimed at serving as a third check of hostility display in real life, but were discarded for that purpose because, according to several criteria, they were found to be not comparable with the other situations in which hostility in real life was observed.

In the first experiment it was obvious that frustration was induced by the ill will of the experimenter, while in the second, frustration seemed to be caused by frustrating circumstances. The correlation between the hostility tallies of these two types of frustration experiments was only R: .29. The experiment, in which frustration was obviously induced by the ill will of the experimenter, produced roughly four times as many hostility tallies as the second experiment.

The display of hostility in the first frustration experiment was mainly object-directed, while denial of candy in the name of a social law aroused mostly person-directed hostility. Explanation for this probably does not lie so much in the structural difference between the two experiments, as in the fact that the first experiment offered toys against which hostility could be abreacted, while the second experiment did not.

The first frustration experiment presented the subject with the choice between an attractive mechanical toy appropriate for his age, and an infantile toy, which, from the point of view of his chronological age, he should have outgrown. Whenever a subject chose the latter toy it coincided with other evidence that the subject was either very infantile for his age, or distinctly regressive.

The frustration experiments frequently set in motion feelings of frustration which did not subside even after the desired goal was reached.

Analysis of the children's reactions confirmed the multiplicity of reaction to frustration stressed by many authors. The responses included hostility, noncompliance, evasion, withdrawal, inhibition, regression, rationalization, and acceptance.

Part II

QUANTITATIVE TREATMENT OF THE DATA

Chapter VII

METHOD OF TREATING THE DATA

The present investigation was set up primarily to explore the relationship between fantasy and real-life hostility. When more than a qualitative comparison between the two situations is desired, a quantitative method of treating the data must be devised which gives justice to the qualitative nature of the data. Before presenting the methods which were adopted to cope with this problem, it may be profitable to discuss some of the difficulties which present themselves when quantitative treatment of essentially qualitative data is attempted.

The first question that comes to mind in all research dealing with so complex a phenomenon as personality is whether, with all its balancing and counterbalancing qualities and adjustments, it is not unique in each individual, not permitting cross comparisons between individuals. Floyd Allport (2), for example, contends that a large sample of the behavior of a single individual is sufficient for discovering laws of this individual; the generalizations made from this sample are, however, to apply to this one individual's behavior alone, and to no other. He suggests accordingly that generalization within and about each particular case is the only possibility for scientific personality study. The implication of course is that each individual is so unique that cross comparisons between individuals are unjustified. Lerner, (50) offers some excellent rationale against this outlook:

> Self comparisons of the same child in a great variety of situations and cross comparisons of large samples of his behavior with those of other children are both needed. After all, every child, no matter how "unique," (postulate), represents a certain irreducible minimum; the zoological species and the cultural series in concretely individuated form (50, p. 160).

More concretely Linton (54) commented as follows:

> There are certain sorts of experience which are common to all mankind. For example, every adult has been an infant dependent for his very

survival on the care accorded him by other individuals. It is these common experiences and the common needs and abilities of mankind which are responsible for such uniformities of behavior as we can discern among mankind as a whole (54, p. 14).

Werner Wolff (94) expressed a similar point of view.

Everyone is born with a unique heredity into a unique environment and therefore emerges as a unique individual. . . . Although individuality is a unique pattern, emerging from the fusion of heredity and environment, its framework shows general characteristics which are established by the conditions under which the pattern is formed. These conditions are similar for all children at each age level (94, p. 293).

Another very important question arises when one considers the relative value of a qualitative, intensive study involving by its very nature only few cases, as contrasted with a large scale investigation of a more superficial, yet quantitatively more reliable sort. Lerner, Murphy and Stone (50) made their choice when they stated in their editorial foreword:

The investigation of a few children studied in this detailed fashion, can lead to as great or greater validity than large scale comparisons of many children on a few ill-understood responses to "standard" stimuli (50, P. X).

The previous quotations make the point that although each individual is unique, there are certain uniformities in behavior that can be studied. For this reason, the present investigator sought insight into the nature of hostility in preschool children from intensive observation of the behavior of individual children and also from a study of responses common to the twenty subjects in this investigation. This combined qualitative and quantitative treatment of the data throws light on dynamic, nonatomistic, and contextually integrated findings and hypotheses which may serve to stimulate further research and wider verification by other investigators. Even though it may be necessary to proceed from the specific to the general with utmost caution, the conclusions arrived at may be applicable to a somewhat wider group than the sample studied, particularly a group that has the rather special characteristics described in Table 1 (Page 9). Also, in the light of the statements by Lerner (50), Linton (54) and Wolff (94) to the effect that practically all children must go through certain universal experiences such as love for, and resentment against, their parents, the intensive study of even relatively few cases may indicate ways in which children are likely to react.

Then there arises the important problem of finding a method of treating the data that will do justice to the dynamic nature of the material. Undoubtedly a topological presentation of the course of events during the experimental sessions would be able to tell the story relatively best. However, there are numerous disadvantages to this method of treating the data. One of them is the unfamiliarity of most readers with topological presentations. Another is the fact that, while these presentations are excellent in reflecting occurrences in their chronological order, they do not seem to lend themselves to cross comparisons among individuals. In the study at hand they would not even lend themselves well to the comparison of a child with himself in the different units of the study. While it would be relatively easy to present the sequence of the frustration experiments topologically, an impractical complexity would arise if the same attempt were made with the ten stories presented to the children, or with the long play interviews. Clearly the method becomes even less feasible with other units of the study as in the case of the parents' and teachers' interviews in which secondhand information about the children is sought. Since it is, among other things, the object of this study to investigate the relationship between fantasy hostility and the expression of hostility in real life, it is necessary to find a method of treating the data which has a sufficient number of common denominators to make the treatment of the various parts of the study comparable.

Lerner, Murphy and Stone (50), in treating their data always stress the fact that it is most important to consider the totality of a child's record and to grasp the dynamics of each individual case. However, in their analysis, they attempt little cross comparison among the children. It is difficult, if not impossible, to conceive of a method attempting to find patterns in a personality of a number of children without sacrificing some of the dynamics involved in each case.

Despert (26) in one of her articles on play pointed out,

> A wealth of material is obtained, which, owing to its diversity and complexity, precludes the use of a statistical approach. There are nevertheless recurrent themes which can be studied along less formal and rigid lines (26, p. 24).

She then proceeded to analyze her material along the lines of affective content of the children's play, with special regard

to emotional relations to members of the family, variations in language expression as related to various emotional states, children's motivations, curiosities, and sense of reality. An analysis of this kind has already been made in the first part of this study. However, a more quantified and simplified approach is needed in a cross comparison of four variables as different as the two play situations, the parents' interviews and the teachers' rating scales.

Jersild (45) discussed a manner of collecting data which is easily transcribed into quantitative terms. He described a method of record-taking through the use of standardized record sheets, which are in effect check lists on which predetermined categories of behavior are checked off. He pointed out that it was expedient to use this method when a quantitative survey of the frequencies of certain clearly definable and psychologically distinguishable forms of behavior is desired. He continued:

> The disadvantage, of course, is that once the units have been decided upon, the observer is not free to adapt his account to what he observes; rather, he must fit what he observes to his categories and this sometimes may mean that he is compelled to project his own definitions on the behavior he sees. . . . Scores may represent a tally of the frequency of a given response or defined unit of behavior during the entire time devoted to observation, for example, the number of different times a child recites, or the number of different times a given language construction is used (45, pp. 475, 476).

Gross frequency alone, as he notes, may fail to tell the whole story, however.

Nevertheless, this type of quantitative approach of dealing with data has a great many advantages. If one were to tally each act or expression of hostility in the various units of study, one would not only deal with all parts of the study in a comparable fashion, but one could arrive at group means for each part, in relation to which each child would assume a certain position. It is true that such a procedure would sacrifice a great many of the dynamics inherent in the material, but that is the drawback of all quantitative treatment of qualitative data. At least, tallies and categorizations drawn from a full record of events are preferable to a check list with predetermined categories, for in the former way a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the data can be made. On the one hand, the full record permits a view into the totality

of the situation, and on the other hand, the later condensation into categories allows for quantitative treatment of the data.

This postexperimental classification and interpretation does not have the approval of authors like Bach (7) and most of the Iowa School. They feel that in such analyses, the selections made to reduce the data to manageable proportions, inevitably reflects the experimenter's prejudices and theories. It seems to this investigator that the errors involved in such a procedure are probably not greater than those inherent in an a priori selection of what, in a child's behavior, is to be recorded, a methodology which is largely employed at Iowa. G. Allport (3), who admirably stated the dilemma involved in the choice, came out in favor of complete records and postexperimental classification. He said:

> Starting too soon with analysis and classification we run the risk of tearing mental life into fragments and beginning with false cleavages that misrepresent the salient organizations and natural integrations in personal life. In order to avoid such hasty preoccupations with unnatural segments and false abstractions, psychology needs to concern itself with life as it is lived, with significant total-processes of the sort revealed in consecutive and complete life documents (3. p. 56).

Referring to the error involved in either pre-experimental or postexperimental categorizations he stated:

> There seems to be no complete cure for this error, for obviously some order has to be placed on the welter of material that constitutes a personal life and any order implies some interpretation. There is no satisfactory answer to this dilemma. It helps but little to point out that all other methods of research are constrained by preconceptions, by selection of episode, by the prearranged setting of the research. Possibly, personal documents may be said to suffer less in that ordinarily the subject himself chooses his form of writing, and in so doing makes the implicit conceptionalization most suitable to his case (3, p. 139).

Such conceptualization will, obviously, take place in a person's verbal reports as well.

Both methodologic choices involve advantages and drawbacks. While checking predetermined categories of behavior is much more amenable to statistical treatment, the chronology of the events as they occur is largely lost. In this fashion the importance of frequencies is inordinately stressed at the expense of dynamic relationships. Even though frequencies are needed in all quantification and intragroup comparisons, frequencies alone would not have answered the basic questions posed in this investigation. Only frequencies related

back into the context of the case material could elucidate such relationships as those between fantasy and real-life hostility, or between parental acceptance and adaptation to hostility.

The needed frequencies were obtained by tallying each act of hostility in the stories, the play sessions and the parent interviews separately. The sum of these tallies in each case constituted the hostility score of each child in one of these three situations. These scores were charted on a frequency distribution. A child's relative position on that frequency distribution clearly designated whether he showed an above-average or below-average amount of hostility in that particular situation. In the teachers' rating scales the breakdown to that effect was even simpler because of its five-point structure. After the children were thus designated as above or below average in hostility in each of the four situations, it was not difficult to perceive a number of patterns of adaptation to hostility.

To avoid possible bias being projected into the interpretation of what constitutes an act of hostility, a second rater was secured. The consistency of two independent analyses of the same record was designed to establish the reliability of the interpretive criteria. In order to insure the second rater's objectivity she was asked to rate first all the stories, and then all the play and parent interviews. Instead of giving the child's name, each unit of the child's case record was assigned a different code number. By this means a carry-over effect was avoided, which to a certain extent is inevitable when a case study in its totality is read; the temptation for any rater is very great to evaluate findings in the light of impressions gained of a child in the first part of a case study.

In devising a scoring system, one is called upon to define what constitutes a new and discrete occurrence of the behavior in question, in this case an act of hostility. If two acts of hostility occur together in a single episode, or if one act is repeated in immediate succession, should one or two tallies be scored? The answer to that problem is of necessity somewhat arbitrary. At least the practice can be made consistent, however. A further problem arises when one considers that gross frequency alone quite often is misleading. Intensity of the act should in some way find expression in the rating sys-

tem, for the intensity of a few acts of hostility may be fully as significant and important than a general proneness to mild acts of hostility.

In an attempt to take into consideration all these difficulties, the following rating directions were adhered to by the two raters:

For the Stories

1. Tabulate hostility reactions only.
2. Tally as 1 all expressions of hostility. These include hostilities of a verbal nature as well as those shown in active play. Rate cumulatively each incident of hostility. (Example: "The little boy shouted (1 tally), took away his brother's toy (1 tally), and stamped his feet." (1 tally) This episode therefore warranted a total number of 3 tallies.)
3. Tally as 1/2 all instances of noncompliance. (Example: "After the little boy was told he could not get any candy, he took some anyway.
4. Tally as 1/2 instances in which you infer or interpret possible hostility. (Example: "The little boy ran away.")
5. Tally as 2 all acts of extreme intensity, such as verbal rejection of parents, teachers, siblings, experimenter or their surrogates, as well as actual or make-believe physical assaults. (Example: "The little boy does not like Mommy any more." Or subject stages a vigorous assault against one of the doll figures.)
6. Total the number of tallies.
7. Indicate the number of stories in which hostility was expressed one or more times.
8. Tabulate as "additional" any hostility material forthcoming in free play occurring during or after the presentation of the stories according to the above criteria.
9. Mark each child's rating sheet with an overall remark, in accordance with the general and total impression gained, as either "strongly hostile," "mildly hostile" or "intermediate."
10. Establish a rank order with the help of the directions expressed in numbers 6, 7, and 9, weighing most heavily the total sum of hostility tallies, and considering the other two as a help in your decision.
11. With the help of the rank order establish three groups, the most hostile children, the least hostile children, and those falling between.

For the Play Interviews

1. Follow identically the same rating procedure as for the stories on points 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 and 11.
2. Tally as evidence of rejection of one parent a child's expression of preference, on questioning, for the other. (1 tally.)
3. Glance through the frustration experiments which occur at the beginning of the play interviews, so as to gain a better understanding of the total situation. Do not tally or score these experiments, however.

For the Parents' Interviews

1. Follow identically the same rating procedure as for the stories on points 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 and 11.
2. Tally as 1/2 all instances of hostility which occurred in the past, and no longer persist.
3. Tally as 1 all instances of hostility which occur "sometimes and sometimes not."
4. Tally as 1 all instances in which hostility is quite habitual yet not too intense.
5. Tally as 2 if hostility is the usual response and is intense.
6. Tally as 1 if the child is said to prefer one parent, as evidence of rejection of the other parent.
7. Tally as 1 if the child is occasionally disobedient.
8. Tally as 2 if a child is habitually disobedient.
9. On temper tantrums:
Tally as 1 if they occur occasionally. (Once in two or three months.)
Tally as 2 if they occur frequently. (Several times a month.)
Tally as 3 if they occur habitually. (Almost daily.)
10. If hostility is displayed toward both parents, tally for both, and separately.

The results of this rating system will be discussed in the next chapter.

Summary

In this chapter various methods of treating data were reviewed and their relative merits and drawbacks were discussed. An attempt was made to devise a method of quantification which could be related back into the total context of the case material so that dynamic inter-relationships could be utilized to make the numerical evidence more meaningful. In making a quantitative analysis of the data a method was finally devised by which each act of hostility in the stories, the free play interviews and the parents' interviews, was tallied for each child. Intense hostility was weighted doubly. The sums of the hostility tallies were arranged in a frequency distribution for each unit of the study, and each child, in each unit was rated as either "strongly hostile," "mildly hostile" or "intermediate." The structure of the teachers' rating scale lent itself easily to a similar breakdown. With each child assuming a definite position in each of the four situations, a pattern analysis could be made.

Chapter VIII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOSTILITY EXPRESSED IN PLAY AND THAT DISPLAYED IN REAL-LIFE SITUATIONS

With the increased use of play interviews in clinical practice the question arises what inference can be made regarding a child's reality behavior by observing his play.

Review of the Literature

Hartshorne and May (40a), as early as 1926, investigated the relationship between behavior and the knowledge of right and wrong, finding only low correlations between the two. Fite (33a) found the same lack of correspondence between aggressive behavior and attitude toward aggression. Many authors, especially those who stress dynamic relationships in personality adjustment, point to the continuity of traits. Levy (51) in his discussion of hostility patterns in his sibling-rivalry experiments, arrived at the conclusion that the dynamics running through a child's dreams, were the same as those in his Rorschach, his drawings, and his play. Sargent (77) reported that characteristic elaborations in the doll play of a certain boy were traceable to interferences suffered from the father at the dinner table. Lerner, Murphy and Stone (50) believed in the same continuity, but carefully pointed out that the adaptation to basic issues may be varied, depending on the situation. Murphy, for example, stated that it was not safe to infer from the feelings a child displayed what his objective experiences were. She pointed out, "It is always sounder therefore to say, 'Evidently the child felt . . .' than it is to say, 'Evidently the mother did'" (50, pp. 57, 58).

One of the authors who took a less clinically inspective,

and more systematic approach to the problem of consistency of behavior was Caille (19) in her monograph on "Resistant Behavior in Preschool Children." She concluded:

> Measurement of a child's resistance in one situation does not give a means of prediction what his degree of resistance will be in another situation (19, p. 124).

Only a few references were directly revelant to the relationship between fantasy and real-life hostility in children. Sanford (76), in using the Thematic Apperception Test correlated the needs expressed in fantasies with overt behavior. All his correlations were low, which Sanford explains as indicating that the presence of a need in a subject's fantasies does not involve the manifestation of this need in overt behavior. His correlation between fantasy and overt aggression was .15.

Bach (7) in a recent study exacted doll-play fantasies about school from a group of children enrolled at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station's preschool with the help of a doll-house replica of the actual preschool. He then compared the children's play with their characteristic behavior in pedagogically important preschool situations, measuring the latter through rating scales filled out by the teachers. While Bach observed that over 75 per cent of the children's thematic responses were reproductive of realistic conditions in their school environment, that correspondence was not nearly as great when he dealt with aggressive manifestations. He stated in his conclusions:

> Both the overtly destructive-aggressive child and the child characterized in his daily behavior by the absence of overt aggression showed the same great amount of fantasy-aggression, whereas less extreme, the normally aggressive child showed less thematic aggression than did either of the two extremes (7, p. 51).

Rogerson (73) brought out the same point, stating that those children who showed a great need to express aggressiveness in play appeared to be of two types,

> Firstly, the child whose behavior outside the playroom suggested that he was endowed with a great deal of aggressiveness, and secondly, the timid child who was often overprotected and in whom these aggressive impulses were perhaps not suspected. In general it appeared to be the latter type of child who derived the most benefit from aggressive play (73, pp. 52, 53).

A. Methods of Exploring the Relationship between Fantasy and Real-life Hostility in this Study

Three steps were taken:

1. The total number of hostility tallies obtained by each child in the presentation of the stories was correlated with those accumulated through the parent's report covering the same situations. Thus a child's fantasy about a situation was compared with his parent's report about his actual behavior in such a situation.

2. A frequency distribution of the actual agreements between the play behavior and the parents' report in each of the ten situations was established, and the average number of agreements per child was calculated. This further comparison was probably more exact than the first measure, for in the former only the total number of tallies in the play and the real-life situations were compared, regardless of whether or not these tallies coincided in the identical situations.

3. The stories, play interviews, teachers' ratings and parent interviews were "scored" by two independent raters along the lines outlined in the previous chapter. By comparing a child's position on the hostility scale in the two play situations with his position in the two real-life situations, the congruities and divergencies of his ways of dealing with his hostility at the fantasy and reality levels could be detected.

B. Correlation between the Sum Total of Hostility Tallies Accumulated in the Ten Play and Ten Real-life Situations

In preparing a tabulation chart for this type of correlation, the question arises whether consistency in behavior in the narrow sense is of importance here, or whether it is sufficient to chart general agreement; it was decided that in scoring it was more important to note the fact that Johnny behaved in a hostile fashion in both situations regardless of whether he used the same mode of expressing his hostility both times. The correlation obtained therefore expressed agreement, or lack of it, in general behavior in both situations.

The correlation coefficient obtained was r=.21. This correlation is very low, and of negligible value for prediction purposes. Furthermore, according to Fisher's test of significance (40, p. 548), a correlation coefficient of at least .44 would have to be obtained to be significant at the 5 per cent level. It can therefore be said that a correlation coefficient of .21 is too small to warrant a statement that the relationship between the frequency of hostility occurring in the ten play and the ten real-life situations is not zero in a universe of which these subjects might be considered a random sample.

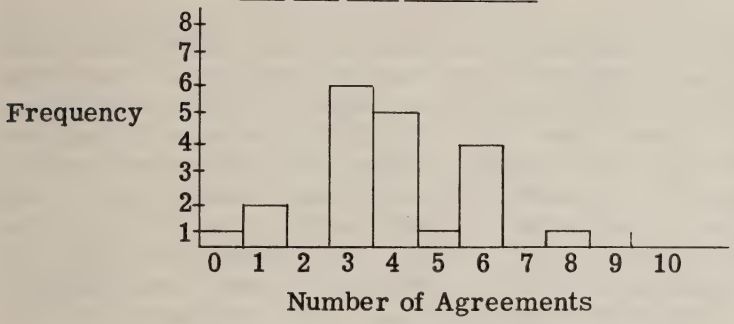
C. Average Number of Actual Agreements between the Two Situations

A close inspection of the above method shows it may be somewhat inexact. This can best be understood with the help of a concrete example. For instance, if Johnny accumulated four hostility tallies when presented with the stories and his mother indicated that he behaved in an angry fashion in four of the ten situations she was asked about, it looks superficially as if there was high agreement between his behavior in play and in a real-life situation. Actually, however, it may have been that none of the four tallies in the play situation coincided with those in the real-life situation, and that they were distributed over totally different incidents. In that case there would be no agreement, even though the sum of hostility scores was the same in both situations. For this reason it may be more meaningful to make a comparison in each of the ten situations and thus ascertain how much actual agreement there was between the story productions and the parent's report.

With a possible range from 0 to 10 agreements, the average number of agreements per child was 3.85. This is a rather low number of agreements since one might have expected five agreements to occur by chance alone; so low, in fact, that it becomes evident again that one cannot predict the life situation from the play situation, and that there is little or no relationship in this sample between the degree of hostility expressed in the play situation and that reported by the parents.

Figure 1

Point-by-Point Agreements between the Ten Stories and the Ten Situations



It may be of interest here to throw light on those situations which showed the greatest and the least agreement between play and real-life behavior (fig. 1). By far the greatest agreement occurred in the situation in which the child bids for parental attention unsuccessfully. Apparently this was such a vital issue with the children that the denial of their need aroused their hostility to a great extent in play as well as in real-life situations. An agreement of 55 per cent occurred in the situation in which the parent, especially the father, defended a friend in a fight. That situation, in play as well as in real life, touched on the question of fundamental acceptance of the child on the part of the parent, and therefore aroused the children greatly in both situations. High agreement also was noted in the situations in which the mother requested the child to clean up disorder, and to finish a disliked dish. These situations were met chiefly with spiteful noncompliance, and not with frank hostility. Least agreement was noted in the situations in which the mother washed the child's ears, and when the prospect of a new sibling was announced. In the former instance, a nonspecific, playful wish to express hostility was observed in the play situation, while the actual routine of cleaning caused little friction. The low agreement rate in the sibling situation was explainable, on the one hand, by the children's repression of their true feelings, their stereotyped response to an event that is conventionally associated with joy, and, on the other hand, by parental unawareness of the problem.

D. Hostility Patterns as Evidenced through Story Ratings, Play Interviews, Teachers' Ratings and Parents' Interviews

The two independent raters scored and classified the four variables in accordance with directions outlined in the previous chapter, and reached a remarkably high degree of agreement. Although there were slight differences in the number of hostility tallies between the two raters, there were no discrepancies in classification of the extremes, the very hostile and the very submissive children, and only very few discrepancies in the over-all ratings of the intermediate cases. In the middle group a division was made between those children who tended toward the submissive side, and those who were inclined to be essentially hostile. This division was not difficult to make with the help of the medians and the frequency distributions of the hostility tallies for each variable.

Table 3 shows how each child was classified by the different raters in the four situations. 93.7 per cent of the children were placed in the same category by the pairs of raters. This high rate of agreement would probably not have been achieved if, instead of making over-all ratings, the exact number of tallies in each experience would have been compared. However, such a comparison would have been over-refined for data of this type.

An explanation of the abbreviations used in the table will make them more understandable. A.F.K. stands for the experimenter; 2nd R. for the second rater; T1 for the child's own teacher, or the teacher to whose subgroup the child belonged; T2 for the second teacher; S for strongly hostile children; S(i) for children in the intermediate group who were essentially hostile and who were considered as such in the subsequent pattern analysis; M for mildly hostile children and M(i) for children in the middle group who tended toward mild expression of hostility. The latter were considered as mildly hostile in the subsequent pattern analysis.

In dealing with the cases in later comparisons the disagreements between the raters had to be ironed out. Both raters agreed that the rating made by the teacher to whose subgroup a child belonged, and who of necessity knew him better, should be accepted as the final rating. In other words

Table 3. Hostility Ratings

	Play situations				Real-life situations			
	Stories		Play int.		Parents' int.		Teachers' ratings & int.	
Name	A.F.K.	2nd R.	A.F.K.	2nd R.	A.F.K.	2nd R.	T1.	T2.
Tony	S	S	S	S	M	M	M	M
Irene	S	S	S	S	M	M	M(i)	M
Lotti	S	S	S	S	M	M	M	M
Kay	S	S	S	S	S	S	S*	S*
Michael	S	S	S	S	M	M	M	S(i)
Helen	S	S	S	S	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)
Jerry	S	S	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)
Mario	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	M(i)	M(i)	M	M(i)
Lucas	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	M	M	M	M
Betsy	S(i)	S(i)	S	S	S	S	S(i)	S(i)
Alice	S(i)**	S(i)**	S(i)**	S(i)**	S	S	S*	S*
Philip	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S	S
Jaquel.	M	M	M(i)	S(i)***	S	S	S	S
Henry	M(i)	M	M	M	S	S	S	S(i)
Rudi	M	M	M	M	M(i)	M	M	M
Joel	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Stanley	M	M	M	M	S	S	S*	S*
Jack	M	M	M(i)	M(i)	S(i)	S(i)	S(i)	M(i)
Patsy	M	M	M	M	M(i)	S(i)***	M	S(i)
Barbara	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M

* The teachers' hostility ratings on Stanley, Alice and Kay were more moderate than their subsequent comments, which gave evidence of such intense hostility in these children that the latter definitely had to be classified as "strongly hostile."

** Even though both raters scored only relatively few hostility tallies on Alice, both felt, evaluating her clinically, that her play showed an unusual intensity of hostility. She therefore was classified as "strongly hostile" by both raters in the play situations.

*** In the cases of Jaqueline and Patsy the hostility tallies of

the ratings of T1 were accepted as the teachers' estimate of a child's hostile reactions toward adults. In considering the few differences between the other two raters it was noted that, in her evaluations, the second judge worked under a distinct advantage as well as a serious disadvantage. On the one hand she avoided "halo effect" to a greater extent than did the experimenter by not knowing which protocols belonged together; on the other hand she lacked observation of the children which probably gave the experimenter a more meaningful understanding of the cases than the protocols ever could. With these considerations in mind, the two discrepancies between the raters (see third footnote to Table 3) were eliminated after discussion. The very high rating consistency between all the raters indicated that it was fairly safe to adjust these differences.

Table 3 gives three different kinds of evidence:

1. Within the same situation there was agreement between the two raters in all but five instances. This reflects high reliability of the method of evaluation.

2. In comparing the final ratings on the play and the real-life situations it becomes evident that the children in this group were consistent in their hostility expression within both play situations, and both real-life situations. More concretely, the children who showed strong or mild hostility to the incomplete stories reacted similarly in the play interviews; and the children who were rebellious or submissive toward the adults at home reacted similarly to the teachers in school. This consistency indicated that the methods employed to study hostility were valid. (For further discussion see Appendix II)

3. In comparing the final ratings on the play situations with those of the real-life situations it became obvious that ten of the children stayed consistent in all situations (either strongly hostile or mildly hostile throughout), while the ten remaining children clearly reversed their position. (Were strongly hostile in the play situations and mildly hostile in the real-life situations, or vice versa.)

This unpredictability between the play and the real-life

both raters were approximately the same, even though disagreement was registered. In both cases the second rater felt that clinically a rating of "mildly hostile" was unjustified.

situations is consistent with the two previous attempts in which a basis of making inferences from one situation to the other has failed to materialize. Obviously, no inferences can be made from play to real-life behavior when an equal chance exists for a child to show clearly reversed behavior in the play and the real life situations. While the sample is too small to permit generalization, the inconsistencies between play and real-life behavior in this small sample were sufficiently frequent to at least caution observers against making inferences about a child's reality behavior from observing his play. In analysing Table 3, four distinct patterns became evident.

(a) Six children showed strong hostility consistently in all the situations. (Kay, Helen, Jerry, Betsy, Alice and Philip.)

(b) Four children showed mild hostility consistently in all the situations. (Barbara, Patsy, Joel and Rudi.)

(c) Six children reversed their position, showing strong hostility in the play situations, and mild hostility in the real-life situations. (Tony, Irene, Lottie, Michael, Mario and Lucas.)

(d) Four children reversed their position, showing mild hostility in the play situations and strong hostility in the real-life situations. (Jaqueline, Henry, Stanley and Jack.)

New aspects of this investigation open up when these patterns, which essentially are various adaptations to hostility feelings, are studied psychodynamically, and are brought into relation with the children's emotional adjustment and with factors in their relationship to their parents. An analysis of this type will be attempted in subsequent chapters. For the present it may be well to state in a general way that, whatever the meaning of the consistencies or divergencies in a child's behavior with respect to hostility expression may be, their exploration will reveal not only a child's adaptation to his hostile feelings, but also his anxieties, inhibitions and compromises. Such an exploration will also point to various modes of adjustment to actual environmental conditions, with all the licenses and prohibitions the environment affords.

It is furthermore important to point out here that the fact half of the children reversed their position between play and real-life situations, or were quite hostile in one and not the other, does not necessarily indicate that they were "different types" of children in the two situations. In spite of the

inconsistencies, as will be shown in the case analyses in the next chapter, close observation of their behavior established a certain continuity of underlying motivation, conflicts, wishes, and thoughts, to which different adaptations were made in fantasy and in real life. It can therefore be said that in observing a child's play behavior, one could not predict by the amount of hostility he displayed how hostile a child he was in real life, but one could learn a great deal about his basic conflicts, anxieties, wishes and impulses.

Summary

In this chapter three types of data analyses indicated that no inference could be made about a child's hostile behavior from observing his play. A correlation of .21 was obtained between the sum total of hostility tallies accumulated in the ten stories and those accumulated through the parents' report covering the same ten situations. The average number of point-by-point agreements between hostile reactions in the stories and in similar situations in real life was 3.85 per child. Both these figures are statistically insignificant and point to the impossibility of making inferences between the frequency of hostile fantasies in play and hostile behavior in real life. This same point was brought out when the independent ratings of two raters on the degree of hostility expressed in the play and the real-life situations was compared. While half of the children stayed consistent in all the situations (either strongly hostile or mildly hostile throughout), half the children clearly reversed their position, and were strongly hostile in the play situations and mildly hostile in real-life situations, or vice versa.

The following are four distinct patterns of adaptation to hostile feelings evolved from this last analysis: (1) children showing strong hostility consistently in all the situations; (2) children showing mild hostility consistently in all the situations; (3) children showing strong hostility in the play situations and very little in actual behavior; (4) children showing little hostility in the play situations and strong hostility in the real-life situations.

The independent raters placed 93.7 per cent of the children

in the same category. This suggests that the rating method was highly reliable. The fact that the children remained highly consistent in their expression of hostility within the play situations and within the life situations suggested that the methods employed to study hostility were valid.

Chapter IX

THE MECHANISMS UNDERLYING THE FOUR PATTERNS

In pursuing the concluding thoughts of the last chapter the question inevitably arises, what are the factors and causes underlying the children's multiple adaptations to their hostility feelings. It is the object of this chapter to explore the mechanisms underlying a chosen adaptation, to furnish a theoretical discussion of the various possible causes, and to substantiate the conclusions with case-study evidence.

A. Children who Showed Strong Hostility in all Situations

It appeared that these children maintained a continued and high level of frustration, which constantly kept their hostilities "on tap", ready for expression. Seemingly neither play nor real life gave these children sufficient release or an opportunity to work out their hostile feelings. Eric Fromm described this phenomenon very ably in what he called a "character-conditioned response." Stone (50) made reference to Fromm's concept as follows:

> In some individuals persistent aggression, even though produced by external frustration, may become a fixed and habitual form of response and become independent in its appearance. In this sense we may think of it as an acquired drive.
>
> Without attempting to answer the theoretical questions raised above, we may indicate that it would seem both feasible and illuminating to consider the aggression of some children as though it constituted a drive--whether innate or acquired--which seems ready to find expression whenever opportunity affords, and to think of the aggression of other children as response aggression. Aggression in the latter is not "on tap" but may appear in response to frustrating situations; in imitation of other children; or in response to personally directed hostility of other children (50, pp. 146, 147).

In dealing with children who showed strong hostility in all situations, whose hostility seemed constantly "on tap", one wonders whether there were not other factors aside from the continued and high level of frustration which drove these children to express their hostility. Undoubtedly, one of these driving forces was the fact that both play and real-life situations were testing grounds where the children could probe the reality and strength of their hostile feelings. This need to probe was another factor in the children's continuous expression of hostility.

In every-day life this phenomenon is frequently observed by individuals who have the care of children. Children will test just how far they can go without being punished. In such a situation anxiety and a desire to define reality limits seem to be driving forces behind the children's behavior. The behavior of the adult in response to such a situation is all-important, and either tends to increase the expression of hostility or cause it to diminish. For example, undue severity or unrestrictive permissiveness both tend to increase the expression of hostility and the underlying anxiety. The adult's temperament and his adjustment to his own hostility feelings also play an important role in whether or not a child is led to express his hostility readily in a reality situation. Expression of hostility is easily developed in a child who has an impulsive, overtly hostile parent. The parent's behavior affords the child a justification for his own behavior. Very often the child fancies his own aggression to be merely a retaliation to the hostility of the parent. (It often is, but not always.) In this way the child can express his hostility without feeling too much guilt; he can be aggressive without encountering any need to curb his behavior. In other words, the hostility felt by a child who has an impatient, explosive parent, does not have to be internalized, but can be expressed and justified in terms of the parent's behavior. Mutual explosiveness between parent and child in turn tend to perpetuate new frustrations, which continually maintain feelings of hostility.

At the same time the child tries to come to terms with his hostility feelings in his play and fantasy-life. There, important experiences and strong feelings are re-enacted, and thereby frequently absorbed. While play releases a good part of a child's hostile feelings, it may not be a sufficiently

complete outlet for the child, at least not for the ones under consideration here, as shown by their unrelenting hostility expression in real life. Neither their habitual play nor their real-life situation afforded them complete release. Anxiety and tension were the result, and these in turn drove the children to expression of more hostility in an attempt to test reality as against the strength of their own subjective feelings.

All these factors did not enter to an equal degree in the adaptation of all of the children who showed strong hostility in all situations. However, traces of each of these factors became evident in all of the children. Kay represented what was probably the extreme in this group. A summary of the data on her may be in order here.

In the number of hostility tallies, Kay was one of the highest ranking children in both the play and the real-life situation. When the stories were presented to her she responded with hostility in eight of the ten stories. The hostility thus shown was automatic, matter-of-fact--as if it were a habit response. It lacked the intensity which was reflected in the more personalized fantasy which followed in the brief free-play interludes and which consisted of repeating compulsively over and over again, "I am the mother! I am the mother! Mother is the baby. Daddy is my Daddy. I am the mother!" In this fantasy she touched a very fundamental problem in her life, with which she tried to come to terms by restating it and thereby making it less terrifying. Her probing of the situations, was, however, not limited to fantasy life, but was ever-present, not only in her relations with the teachers and her parents, but also with the experimenter. Throughout the play interviews and the presentation of the stories she tested and felt her way as to whether or not she was really accepted, and in her fear of rejection, she took the offensive. Actually it was largely her anxiety which drove her to attack.

The following incidents which took place during the play interview illustrate this point. When Kay was given a new piece of clay she asked hastily, "No one had this before?" When told that this was true, she smiled gleefully. Later when she colored with some crayons, she asked, "Do you give these crayons to other children?" E. indicated she did. Thereupon Kay retorted poutingly and sharply, "I don't like the crayons." She followed this up with a further inquiry, "Do other children come here?" E.: "You have seen Jaqueline come here." Kay replied with a good deal of intensity, "I am not her friend." And later, "Do you show these to other children?" E.: "Yes, you know that." Kay retorted with much feeling, "I don't want you to! It makes me mad." And then with much contempt, "Ha, ha, ha, I am not going to come here tomorrow." Furthermore the termination of the interview was a crushing blow to Kay, who took it as a rejection. All efforts at reassuring her were of no avail; she left hurt and terribly cross.

Undoubtedly she also was testing the situation, (although in a different sense,) when she criticized and exchanged every single toy which was given to her. Very probably this behavior was in part a retaliation for

the frustration experienced in the immediately preceding frustration experiments. However, her irritation and negativistic behavior was sufficiently prolonged to lead one to suspect that she also was testing how far she could go without provoking a reaction in the experimenter.

The most striking evidence of hostility in real life was Kay's offensive language, directed against all the adults she encountered. At times Kay engaged in veritable verbal assaults, and the adult-like intonation and mode of expression in which they were made immediately suggested imitation of adults. For example, Kay thought little of expressing her displeasure by expressions as crude as, "Shut up!", "Mind your own business!", "Dope!" Undoubtedly she could speak in such a manner without feeling too much guilt because her parents and especially her father, did not refrain from saying anything and everything in front of the child. Her father drank heavily, and scenes between the parents were very common. Even in the E.'s presence, conflict between the parents was quite open. The father, in trying to get Kay out of the room, used nothing but threats, and such expressions as "beat it!" Altogether, there was little incentive for Kay to internalize any of her aggression. The language used by her parents determined the channel into which Kay could direct her hostility.

Another mechanism at work was Kay's relentless testing of how far she could go without being punished. Kay always felt, without much apparent reason, that her relationship with her father was much better than that with her mother. This can only be explained in the light of the probability that she felt more secure and less guilty toward him because of his consistent harshness. With him she knew exactly what the consequences of her behavior would be; his anger gave her just cause for retaliation, and her sense of guilt and anxiety were largely alleviated by his punitiveness. This was not the case with her mother, though. The mother presented a picture of complete resignation and helplessness against this child, whom she seemingly accepted as a necessary evil. She put no restrictions on the child, and when Kay called her all sorts of names, she accepted it as if she were completely accustomed to being treated in this manner. Her resignation was shown, for example, when she gave into Kay's nagging, serving the E. tea and cake just before supper, even though it completely upset her routine. The mother's inability to restrict Kay led to incessant testing on Kay's part as to how far she could go. The E. witnessed such provocations as, "Keep quiet--you are not the boss of the house--I am!" The mother ignored them all, which must have augmented Kay's anxiety to an unbearable degree. Inevitably, and again through aggressive acts, she practically begged for punishment. While the interview was being conducted she tried to listen in, and intercepting the word "punishment" she said, "I like to be punished--I don't care." Judging from the mother's report, as well as from firsthand observation, Kay went through a repeated vicious circle. She tested both her mother and the limits of her own hostility feelings through her hostile acts; the mother's helplessness then led to unbearable guilt and anxiety which she tried to alleviate through further punishment-provoking hostility; once punishment did occur the circle started anew as Kay went ahead and expressed well-justified resentment.

Alice, Betsy, Jerry, Helen, and Philip were the other children who showed strong hostility in all the situations. None of them was quite as outspoken or rude as Kay. It may be advantageous to look briefly into some of the mechanisms at work in the strong hostility of some of these other children.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, Alice actually did not accumulate an unusual number of hostility tallies, but her hostility in the play situations was so intense throughout that she was classified as "strongly hostile" by both raters. Alice tried to come to terms with her feelings by re-enacting them through play. Oedipal fantasies with resulting hostility, anxiety, and guilt were recurrent. Most of the time her guilt outweighed the apparent strength of her overt hostility, which suggested that there might have been a good deal more which she suppressed. Free play and the stories represented quite a temptation for her, and it frequently happened that she gave way to feelings of irritation toward E. after she had dared to express hostility in play. One of her protective mechanisms against this temptation was her hiding of the doll which was to be used in the next story. Making her unavailable to E. she said, "The little girl is asleep! I cannot wake her up." Guilt was frequently reflected in that she terminated stories by having the parent-doll spank the child-doll after the latter had expressed hostile or negativistic behavior. Her extensive use of the screen, which she happened to find in the room, and with which she screened the girl off whenever she showed hostility or sexual curiosity, was further evidence of her guilt; e.g., "Shall we put the screen over the little girl when she is angry?"

Undoubtedly Alice's excessive guilt stood in direct relationship with her parents' high standards and moralistic attitudes. Both parents were in the employ of a church. They were rather rigid disciplinarians and in their relationship with Alice they were proper, but somewhat cold. Actually, Alice's hostility in play and real-life situations may have been not only direct retaliation against the many prohibitions from her parents, but also a punishment-seeking device to alleviate her excessive feelings of guilt. Most of her hostility in real life became evident in the form of minor temper outbursts, spite and generalized grouchiness. When her mother did not give in to her wishes, she frequently said, "I don't like you no more." In reverse, this suggested that Alice either might have felt that she was not liked when she did not comply with her mother's wishes, or that the mother actually expressed such feelings when she was displeased with Alice's behavior. Furthermore, Alice had numerous fears--fears of inanimate mechanical toys, fears of dogs, and of the dark. Psychiatrically it has often been shown that children who have to cope with a great amount of hostility, develop fears. Alice also had developed compulsive habits, an excessive need for orderliness and cleanliness, probably further defenses against her anxiety and hostility. Her frustration-tolerance was quite low, as evidenced in school as well as in her irritation which followed the frustration experiments.

Dynamically, Helen's case was quite similar. She also showed strong guilt feelings, had a cold mother who expected her to live up to high stand-

ards and respect a multitude of prohibitions. Both Alice's and Helen's parents were not overtly and explosively hostile; thus both these children showed more inhibition in expressing their hostility than Kay. In analysing the direction which both Helen's and Alice's hostilities took, oedipal hostility and sibling rivalry were of primary importance. Their hostility was further enhanced by wishes for retaliation against their parents' numerous prohibitions, and against the feelings of frustration thus incurred.

Philip's excessive hostility seemed to be a protest against fundamental rejection by his family. He had two almost grown-up sisters, and his arrival apparently was unplanned for, and unwanted. His father was exceedingly stern and strict, and his mother was fundamentally quite indifferent. She entrusted his care entirely to his older sisters. Her statement "I simply give in to him because I lack the time for an argument" sums up her attitude pretty well. Through Philip's hostile behavior he was constantly probing his parents' feelings toward him. He apparently preferred his father's punitive attention to his mother's lack of attention. When he was asked in the play interview who was nicer to him, his father or his mother, he stated that his daddy was. (This preference may have been determined by the additional factor that his father was capable of restricting him, which, to some extent, harnessed his hostility feelings, and thereby saved him from becoming too anxious.)

The fact that he developed numerous symptoms further substantiated the conclusion that, if he could not get attention through legitimate means, he would try to get it by arousing concern about himself. In turn, his mother's indifference was shown again in the completely detached, uncomplaining attitude with which she spoke about his symptoms. Although Philip stuttered, sucked his thumb, masturbated, persisted in baby talk, was afraid of dogs and the dark, wet his bed almost nightly, had frequent temper tantrums, and suffered of night terrors, it never occurred to the mother to seek help from anyone. Expression of hostility feelings was facilitated for Philip through his parents' explosiveness. They had frequent scenes of disagreement over his discipline, and Philip was spanked almost daily, both indications of impulsive behavior on the part of his parents.

In the play sessions, Philip showed excessive anxiety following expression of hostile feelings. His anxiety prevented him from experiencing any release from his pent-up feelings. For example, after he played at making the mother, father, and sister doll ill, he demanded anxiously to be returned to the other children. It was difficult for him throughout to shoulder the responsibility for his hostile feelings. He expressed this beautifully when he said in play, "Somebody hits Mommy", and when asked who it was, he answered, "Someone--someone knocking at the door."

Considering the emotional adjustment of the children who showed strong hostility in all situations, it became evident that the majority tended to be maladjusted. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

B. Children who Showed Mild Hostility in all Situations

Two distinctly different sets of circumstances and dynamics seemed to underly the adaptation of the group of children who showed mild hostility in all the situations. Two of the four children, Joel and Rudi, seemed fairly contented children, whose parents accepted them, and who tolerated frustration fairly well. In addition both these children seemed naturally rather placid, at times even phlegmatic, and not only showed a relative lack of hostility, but also a generalized lack of forceful personality. The underlying reasons for Patsy's and Barbara's relative lack of hostility display were, by contrast, quite different. In their case, anxiety over their latent hostility, fear of the loss of parental love if they dared to show their hostility, played the most important role in their meager hostility output.

While the latter children were dynamically more complex, it may be profitable first to discuss briefly some of the evidence which reflected the relative placidity of Joel and Rudi.

Joel was observed and described by parents and teachers as having a sunny disposition. He smiled and chattered most of the time. He was ready to compromise on almost every issue. For example, when he was asked what the little boy felt like when his mother forbade him to have candy, he said, "He feels like drinking." And he ended up by saying, "He saves the candy." Or when he was denied the preferred toy in one of the frustration experiments he tried to compromise with E. by saying, "All right, I will first play with this one (non-preferred toy) and then with the other one."

There was a lack of forcefulness in his inability to produce anything but "Jingle Bells", when he was given a turn to tell stories to E. His lack of initiative and inquisitiveness were further signs in the same direction. He invariably requested E.'s help in his doll play in making the figures sit down, in dressing them, in arranging the furniture. The teachers corroborated Joel's lack of initiative and assertiveness. They stated that he and Jack were completely inseparable, and that Jack dominated him completely. Aiming at making Joel more self-reliant, the teachers tried to separate the two, but were unsuccessful. Jack had the habit of protecting Joel and fighting his battles. One of the teachers had observed Joel as he tattled on a third boy, whereupon Jack attacked that boy.

Although both of Joel's parents were somewhat impulsive and argumentative, Joel did not adopt their pattern. Probably, the atmosphere of warmth and parental acceptance largely offset such a development.

His mother gave a good deal of evidence of her warmth for him throughout the interview, and the father topped it all off by saying, "I would want half a dozen of them . . . and yet I don't think any of them could be as nice as Joel. He is the best--the very best." His mother's impulsiveness and Joel's submissiveness were portrayed in her statement as to what happens when he wants her attention. She said, "When he wants my attention all the time--that's when I get mad. Sometimes I just don't answer. And then after a while he forgets to call. As a rule, he is pretty reasonable anyway." His mild temperament was further shown in his mother's statement that he had only three or four temper tantrums since birth.

In play, Joel did not try to come to terms with hostility, but with his experience of prolonged and serious illness. At one occasion Joel suffered severe internal injuries when in an automobile accident; at another time one of his kidneys had to be removed due to a congenital renal deformity. The separation from his parents in his repeated hospitalizations probably aroused more anxiety in him than did his physical condition. Throughout the play interview, again and again, he stated and acted out the circumstances which caused so much anxiety in him. At times he just sent the boy doll to the hospital, apparently just trying to come to grips with that problem, relieving some of his anxiety through repetition of the fear-inspiring situation. At other times he dissolved some of his tension by adding a happy ending to his fantasy. He said, for example, "Boy does not feel well. He has to go to the hospital. He sees his Daddy no more--Look who is coming back! Boy comes back home. When he comes back, Mommy and Daddy kiss him."

Similar adaptations were observed in the case of Rudi. He was less anxious than Joel, for in his case there was no illness factor. His disposition was somewhat less sunny than Joel's, and he had less spark in his make-up. He was more placid, more deliberate, and definitely more phlegmatic than Joel. He too lacked initiative, and frequently requested E.'s help in adjusting the dolls and furniture. Both teachers called him "A good boy--almost too good--lacking in personality." Rudi was one of the exceptional children whose hostility was not even aroused in the story in which the mother doll does not pay any attention to the little boy. He said, "He plays a game alone. Later when Mommy is finished, they go to the movies together."

In the case of Patsy and Barbara, lack of hostility display in real life and in play did not indicate a lack of hostility feelings in these children. Anxiety over the possible loss of their parents' affection, should they show their negative feelings, drove these children into a submissive position. This was especially true in Barbara's case. In Patsy it was readily sensed that in spite of her submissive adaptation, underneath she was quite a hostile child. Both children's position could be understood in the light of a strong ambivalence which they felt toward their parents. On the one hand

they loved them, partly undoubtedly because of their need for them; on the other hand, they hated them for their sternness and lack of understanding in Barbara's case, and for their rejection and indifference in Patsy's case. Sigmund Freud (38) in writing about the "Analysis of Little Hans" who had developed a phobia in order to resolve the conflict of his ambivalence, described similar adaptations to this ambivalence.

> Such conflicts due to ambivalence are very common; we are acquainted with another typical outcome of them in which one of the contending trends, usually the tender one, becomes enormously augmented, while the other disappears. Only the excessiveness of the tenderness and its compulsive character betray the fact that this attitude is not the only one present, and that it is ever on its guard to keep the contrary attitude suppressed, making it possible to construe a train of events which we describe as repression through reaction formation (38, p. 38).

Mowrer (62), after thus quoting Freud elaborated the quotation as follows:

> The element of conflict in such a situation emerges not only from the love-hate ambivalence per se, but also from the knowledge (often unverbalized) that overt expression of hostility would result in "loss of love" (punishment, deprivation, isolation, etc.). Anticipation of such a loss arouses anxiety and in the attempt at "defence" against the latter, the most elaborate efforts may be made to conceal and deny the component of hostility. How can the defence be managed better than by continual testimony, in word and act, of affection and solicitude? But the trained eye detects this subterfuge, this intensification of one type of behavior by the very strength of an opposing impulse.
>
> The Queen in "Hamlet" (Act III, Scene II, Line 240) shows a nice appreciation of this mechanism in her famous remark: "The Lady doth protest too much, methinks" (62, p. 81).

Material gathered on Patsy and Barbara furnish ample evidence as to how some of these mechanisms work.

The sum total of Barbara's hostility tallies was at the bottom of the distribution in almost all situations. Little insight could be gained from a very guarded interview with her father, with the exception that Barbara was an obedient, submissive, and good child in the face of parental sternness and strict discipline. The teachers described Barbara's home as "very patriarchal" with a strict, authoritarian father and a very excitable mother. Both parents were very old in relation to Barbara, and both were of foreign background. They had a grown-up daughter about whose school work they constantly complained even though she was a brilliant student. They seemed to have high standards for both their children. Both teachers observed that they had little understanding of Barbara's needs and suppressed her considerably. In school too, Barbara was a "good" girl, a child whom, according to the teachers, "one easily overlooks." She was described as frequently being "in a daze", and that it was difficult

to determine whether it was lack of sleep which kept her in a daze, or "something disturbing inside her." Both teachers felt it was difficult to reach Barbara, that she scarcely ever listened to stories that were being told, and that she daydreamed a good deal. The teachers often wondered whether she was dull or emotionally disturbed. The former possibility was ruled out by a test on which she earned an I.Q. of 115.

That Barbara's submissiveness and "goodness" was not entirely natural and without conflict became evident in her behavior in the play situations. There she was extremely anxious and blocked for fear she might give in to the hostile impulses which were aroused and given an opportunity for expression. She either checked herself completely, evading the issue at hand, gave compliant responses, or displayed guilt over unexpressed, or scarcely hinted hostility. The stories thwarted her completely. She blocked, giggled, breathed heavily, moved on her chair nervously and frequently responded, "I don't know." At one time she was so panicky that she said, "I don't want to tell." She could not even be made to tell E. what foods she disliked.

Following the frustration experiments, which she took with very little protest, her unexpressed hostility made her sufficiently anxious to push her into establishing closer rapport with E. The same sequence of behavior (hostility--leading to anxiety--leading to overtures toward E.) was observed when she was asked whether her mother was always nice to her. Her response to that question beautifully demonstrated her evasiveness, embarrassment, anxiety and wish to undo. Her first answer was an evasive "Mommy cooks." When asked again, she said after considerable hesitation, "Mommy is always nice." E.: "Does Mommy ever punish you?" Barbara: "No." E.: "Never scold you?" Barbara: "No." E.: "Never whip you?" Barbara, after a good deal of hesitation: "Sometimes . . . when I am fresh." E.: "Do you think Mommy is right when she whips you?" Barbara: "Yes." E.: "So you think she should do it?" Barbara: "No, she should not, she should not really." E.: "Why did you get a whipping the last time?" At this point Barbara became very resistant, wiggled on her chair, giggled, and was as blocked as in the first session. She finally said, "I don't know." After playing peacefully for some time, she suddenly volunteered, "Sometimes I go to the corner myself when I was fresh." She responded similarly when she was asked about her father, and when she finally was questioned who was nicer to her, father or mother, she made a slip by saying, "My sister." She rapidly and anxiously corrected herself, however, and said, "They are all nice." When E. further inquired, "But who is nicer, Daddy or Mommy?", she again relaxed her controls for a moment, saying, "Daddy loves me better," only to retract quickly by correcting herself with "They are all nice to me."

When she had previously volunteered that she punished herself when she was naughty, she must have felt particularly anxious, because immediately following, she again made overtures toward E. She asked whether E. knew her name and address and whether she wanted to come and visit her at her home. She apparently wanted to test whether she was still accepted and liked, in spite of the fact that she had become conscious of hostile feelings, which were sufficiently strong to make her think of self-punishment.

In Patsy's case it became quite transparent that hostility underlay her half-hearted submissiveness, and that this submissiveness was an unsuccessful attempt to appease her conscience, as well as an expression of fear that she might lose what little parental affection she received, if she dared show her real feelings.

The teachers both felt that Patsy was basically a rejected child and they described her home-life as being "pathetic." Neither father nor mother showed any interest in Patsy, and they entrusted her care mostly to her maternal grandmother. The latter died very suddenly leaving Patsy in a very precarious position as far as opportunities to form attachments were concerned. In spite of these deprivations the teachers found Patsy to be a good girl whom they never have occasion to punish.

Observation of Patsy in relation to her mother, and the latter's report, both indicated that in the face of frustration, Patsy responded with grumbling resignation. Unlike Kay, she refrained from open rebellion and outburst, tried to suppress her hostility, and instead, effected an adaptation through modes of behavior usually characteristic of much older persons; namely, through dissatisfied resignation, nagging, and indirect pressures. The following illustrations are in point. When her mother defends another child she just stands and makes a sad face. When she is denied first place in a game, she does not show her anger, but no longer participates. She nags her mother when she is denied her attention, and if this does not produce results, she pouts and makes an unhappy face. She is completely submissive to her father, for she is afraid of him. One word and one glance on his part is sufficient to make her completely compliant. With her mother, Patsy tries to win her point through nagging, and if she is unsuccessful she gives in, mildly grumbling at the same time. Her adaptation was summed up by her mother when she commented about Patsy's feelings toward her new baby brother. "Patsy likes to be the center of attraction, always. Now when people are more interested in the baby, she is that no longer. She sometimes sighs but does not say anything, ever. She looks very sad when we play with the baby. Still, she does not say a word."

Patsy's mother recalled only one temper tantrum. It occurred recently, and was completely startling to the parents, for Patsy never had an outburst previously, or since. Also, recently Patsy had developed a fear of staying alone, which coincided with her baby brother's birth. This panic occurred mainly when she did not know anything about her mother's whereabouts. For example, she showed acute anxiety when she did not find her mother in bed when she awoke one morning. One could speculate that her anxiety might stem from unexpressed hostile feelings toward her mother. Patsy's frequent concern over her mother's safety, which was also reported, may actually have been a reaction-formation against her hostile wishes.

The mother's statements were largely corroborated by Patsy's behavior as it was observed when a home visit was made. The fact that Patsy was asked to leave the room where mother and E. had the inter-

view, proved a source of acute anxiety and frustration to Patsy. Although her mother used practically nothing but deceptive and threatening methods to get Patsy out of the room, the latter did not respond with anger, but with insistency, nagging and vicarious attempts to disrupt the interview and to gain attention. She attempted to eavesdrop; she forgot about her indiscretion when she said "God bless you" when her mother sneezed. She made crying sounds for a good fifteen minutes, and then entered the room, in spite of the prohibition, smiling, her eyes completely dry. In an attempt to get rid of her, the mother sent her out, suggesting she try on some of her new clothes. Characteristically Patsy replied, "But there nobody can see me." Furthermore, in spite of the rebuff she had received, Patsy re-entered the room, begging, as if nothing had happened, "You dress me, Mommy dear!"

In the face of the many frustrations experienced by Patsy, and the resulting, yet unexpressed hostility feelings, one would expect a release of these feelings in play. This, however, was not the case. Patsy's play was not primarily an attempt to assimilate overpowering feelings of deprivation which she experienced in real life, not so much an attempt to come to terms with her hostility, but a leave of absence from reality and an experience of wish-fulfilment. This was especially true of the free-play interview. Her response to the stories was more guarded, because they aroused more of her hostilities. An unusual degree of compliance was shown in relation to the story situations, and she prevented the expression of hostile feelings by always indicating what the mother figure or little girl figure does, and never what the latter felt like doing. To give an example, when asked what the little girl felt like doing when mother denied her candy, Patsy replied, "She first eats her supper and is a good girl and then after she has eaten her supper she goes down and gets some candy. That is what I do when Mommy tells me." She did not answer at all in terms of what the little girl did or felt like doing in response to the story in which the mother doll did not pay any attention to the child doll. She just said, "After all, mother has to do all her shopping, and she is terribly busy in the house."

In the free-play interview her tendency to use play as a means of wish-fulfillment, and as a leave of absence from reality, became evident repeatedly. Her play did not reflect what actually took place in her home; namely, frictions and marital discord, but instead Patsy's wishes as to how she would want it to be. At one time, for example, she arranged the doll furniture and divided it up so as to make a number of rooms. After placing the doll family in the house she said, "Mommy and Daddy drive in the car. Daddy goes for a drive alone. Then he goes back to Mommy. Then Mommy goes out for a drive. The little girl goes to see Daddy. She says to him, 'Hello, Daddy, I love to see you!' And Daddy says to the little girl, 'All right, darling, put your arms around me.' In the meanwhile Mommy stays with the little baby. Later Daddy is going to sit on Mommy's lap." This, in the face of a cold, rejecting father, an indifferent mother, and constant marital discord, seems quite remarkable.

C. Children who Showed Strong Hostility in the Play Situations and Mild Hostility in Real Life

It appeared that the children in this group lived out most of their aggressions in fantasy life, and adjusted to cultural and parental pressures by avoiding expression of hostility in real-life situations.

Play provided these children with opportunity to express without the threat of punishment, the conflicts, tensions, and hostilities which would put them at odds with the outside world, were they to express them there. In play they were able safely to evaluate causes and effects, and assimilate overpowering experiences, which they were as yet unprepared to handle in reality. At the same time, contact with the outside world, the whole process of socialization, had already taught these children that it was unwise to express freely and fully the resentments incurred by daily frustration.* Almost inevitably the expression of such feelings would result in punishment or loss of parental love. For that reason it was safer to channelize these hostilities into the sphere of fantasies. The release experienced in that area was sufficient in most of these cases to provide adequate management of hostile feelings in real-life situations. Michael was a good example in point.

Michael's hostility tallies in the play situations were among the highest, while he received only a few in the real-life situations. He responded with hostile fantasies to each of the ten stories and there was something lusty and carefree in the way he expressed his hostility. Although he gave evidence of guilt feelings, they were incidental, and probably a device to re-establish balance after a display of hostility. He projected spiteful behavior on to the boy doll against each and every prohibition emanating from the parent dolls. There was a certain stereotypy in his retaliations, in that he took his cue from the first and second story and made the little boy splash water all over the floor, or eat candy right in front of his parents almost every time he ran up against a prohibition.

In the free-play interview, fantasies of retaliation against the father were most prominent. Michael enjoyed putting the father figure into a role that he apparently felt himself to be in at times. The interview was not devoid, however, of hostile feeling against the mother doll. At one

*This concurs with Doob's and Sears' (29) findings on the factors determining substitute behavior and overt expression of aggression.

time he for example seated the boy doll on the toilet and said, "He makes a wee-wee and a bowel movement. He sits there and feels sorry for Mommy!" When asked why, he said, "She just died . . . he hit her over the head." He said this in a completely casual fashion. At the same time he occasionally expressed resentment against E., possibly because, through her beautiful toys and her permissive attitude, he felt she was encouraging him to express forbidden feelings. He asked several times, "Whose toys are these? Yours? Do they cost a lot?" And occasionally he added with a threat in his voice, "If I break them, you will be sorry!" Part of this resentment, as well as his desire to divorce the feelings he had felt during play from reality, caused him to be aloof and almost unfriendly toward E. when she visited his home.

In real life, as reported by his teachers and his mother, Michael showed very little hostility. He was one of the most popular children in the group, and got along with his contemporaries equally as well as with adults. He was the youngest boy of three; he felt a great deal of admiration for his older brothers, and they in turn gave him friendship and understanding. He was warmly accepted by his parents, and in the whole family group one could sense an unusual degree of respect of each member for all the others. Michael, on the whole, was a very obedient child, complied with requests made, and only rarely broke prohibitions. Occasionally he showed a spark of anger, but as a rule this subsided quickly. He had not had a temper tantrum in more than a year, and he showed a tendency to accept responsibility which in many ways indicated a certain precocity. He frequently offered his help, saying, for example, "Mother, you are tired . . . let me help you;" or "Don't buy me an expensive suit; you got to pay the rent and the light bill."

Lottie, Mario, and Lucas followed a similar pattern of adjustment. Although these children were not quite as well adjusted as Michael, and although there were great individual differences among them, they all seemed to find sufficient release of their hostility feelings in fantasy life to enable them to maintain an unaggressive, unexplosive attitude in real life. Their hostility in play was generalized, unfocused, lacking in intensity. At times it appeared as if these children zestfully displayed aggression merely because an opportunity offered itself which permitted them to indulge unpunished. The stereotypy in hostility expression observed in Michael also became evident in some of the other children. Lottie, for example, had the girl doll slap the mother-doll in response to almost every story.

Irene and Tony, although belonging to the group of children who expressed hostility in play and relatively little hostility in real life, showed some marked differences in their adjustment. Their play and their hostilities showed an intensity not encountered in other children. It reflect-

ed more than in the other children the fact that they tried, through play, to come to terms with conflicts and overwhelming experiences. The specificity of their preoccupations as reflected in their play suggested fairly focalized problems. Even though these problems did not make themselves felt in heightened hostility in real life situations, they were reflected in strains and tensions as well as in certain symptoms. Tony's case already has been discussed (Chapters II and VI) and some of the mechanisms underlying his behavior have been brought out. The hostility he displayed in fantasy was remarkably intense, and was followed by great guilt and anxiety. Because of these feelings, play and fantasy life did not offer a solution to Tony, but instead started new tensions. Tony was too insecure a child to work out these tensions in reality situations in the form of hostility. Instead of frankly showing hostility he was disproportionately anxious over minor offenses; instead of becoming conscious of the wishes to do harm to others as verbalized in the play sessions, he turned these aggressive forces upon himself, becoming anxious over the harm that might come to him, and developing numerous fears; instead of showing his jealousy of his baby brother more frequently and more openly, he developed a number of regressive symptoms, thus competing with the baby for its place.

In play Irene was one of the most intensely hostile children in the group. The expression of this hostility did not offer her adequate relief, however, but instead made her quite anxious. Toward the end of the play sessions Irene worked herself up into a complete frenzy. Her rambling speech seemed to be an equivalent of the type of hyperactivity based on anxiety which is frequently observed in children. Although Irene's inability to solve her conflicts through fantasy life was not reflected in any expression of hostility in real life, she did show numerous strains and tensions. The majority of these were expressed in her extreme anorexia. Her almost complete refusal to eat solids expressed in one symptom a number of mechanisms. These mechanisms included her wish to remain a small child, identification with a mother who disliked food herself, expression of negativism and resistance, and the resultant secondary gain of receiving a great deal of attention.

D. Children who Showed Mild Hostility in the Play Situations and Strong Hostility in Real Life

The children in this group made the reverse adaptation of the previous group. Instead of working out their difficulties in play and fantasy life, they used real-life situations as their testing ground. This naturally was socially less acceptable than the less troublesome adaptation of the preceding group.

The relative lack of hostility in play was quite conspicuous in this group of otherwise overtly hostile children. Temper tantrums were quite a common mode of behavior in each of the four children. They were impulsive, easily provoked. When their wishes were crossed they gave vent to resentment which released most of their tensions, and which prevented their anger from being internalized. As they so readily expressed their hostility, they had not nearly so much need to come to terms with it in play or fantasy life. This explains, at least to some extent, the relative lack of hostile preoccupations during play.

The question arises why they chose this adaptation, rather than the reverse, the socially more acceptable one. The answer probably lies in the fact that they fell into a family pattern of explosiveness and impulsiveness. This was certainly true in three of the four children, and in the fourth it could not be verified because the parent interview was somewhat guarded. Families in which every member gives vent to his feelings, in which there is considerable quarreling, fighting, and shouting, and in which anger is forgotten just as soon as it is aroused, are not uncommon. At least three of the four children belonged to just such families. The mutuality of anger between parent and child was very nicely verbalized by Stanley's mother. When she was asked about his temper tantrums she stated, "When he gets mad, he hollers back at me."

As in the first group, which showed strong hostility in all situations, the parents' explosiveness was taken by the child as a rationalization for his own behavior, and vice versa, the child's provocativeness justified in the parents' mind more punitive action. Thus a never-ending vicious circle was started in which neither parent nor child found it nec-

essary to revise his behavior, the one always given the other ample justification for his actions. Dynamically this vicious circle could be traced as follows: Punitive, rejecting, inconsistent, or over-indulgent behavior on the parent's part led to hostile, provocative behavior in the child, which, in part was retaliation, but to a large extent, was destined to test the patience and acceptance of the parent; the parent in turn provoked by the child's behavior, felt justified in his anger and punitiveness, which in turn provoked renewed and self-righteous hostility in the child. Thus hostility feelings were continually perpetuated. Guilt was largely alleviated through the other person's behavior. Where guilt was felt by the children in this group, it was usually not internalized, but channelized into hostile behavior, which was conducive to provoking punishment. Frequently, also, such punishment was provoked to gain a pretext for the expression of hostility which was felt already prior to punitive action.

Some of these mechanisms came into play beautifully in the case of Jaqueline. Since she was discussed previously (Chapters III and V) she will be taken up here only briefly.

It was previously mentioned that in Jaqueline's excessive display of hostility in real life there was a strong component of wishing to attract attention to herself at all cost. Furthermore, anxiety probably drove her to test the reality and strength of her hostile impulses, as well as the basic acceptance by her parents. When indications of these same hostile impulses appeared in the play situations, she reacted with guilt, probably because she was given undivided attention in that situation, and with anxiety, very likely because she could not see the effect of her hostile thoughts. Jaqueline apparently felt more secure in acting out her impulses in reality, and in observing the results, as well as receiving the punishment that followed, than she would have felt, playing with these ideas at a fantasy level, which in her mind might have undetermined consequences. Griffith's (39) observation is in point here; she contends that in children's minds nothing happens by chance. Aware of their own tenuous motives, and probably as a result of projection, they find psychological causation in all happenings. Jaqueline apparently preferred to see the obvious effect of her actions to the uncertain consequences of her fantasies. On the whole therefore she internalized little and acted out her impulses. In terms of psychoanalytic theory the fact she had almost no fears further substantiated the fact that she did not internalize her aggressions.

The parent interview reflected the interplay between Jaqueline's aggressiveness and the general explosiveness in the household. Her father and her mother were in constant strife, and the mother had left the father on several occasions. The marital discord had come to open warfare, with the mother going so far as to ask the nursery school personnel to

interfere, and to "straighten him out." How much Jaqueline was involved in this conflict was reflected in her proud statement one day, "I and mother walked out on father; I have no more father." Her father apparently was a very impulsive and punitive person with whom it was impossible to reason. He set up rules for the child by which he himself did not abide, thus providing the child with perfect rationalizations for her behavior. Jaqueline had developed the habit of playing one parent against the other, and she did the same with her two teachers. Verbalizing the satisfaction she felt when her provocative behavior bore fruit she once said, "Mommy, I just love to see you get mad." She took the parental strictness invariably as a pretext for temper tantrums or disobedience. The mother verbalized this by saying, "I usually am lenient when I want to get places with her. If I am strict, she never does things she is supposed to."

In Jack's case the inter-relationship between his relative lack of hostility in play and his aggressiveness in real life was not readily traced, mainly because of the fact that not enough was learned through the teachers and the parent interview about the parents' temperament. By contrast, first-hand observation was gathered on Henry and his parents, and their mutual explosiveness. An analysis of the parent interview reveals that Henry, and for that matter the rest of the family, were acting out most of their tensions; as a result he found it unnecessary to indulge in a great many hostile fantasies in play.

The crudest example of a barren fantasy life coupled with lack of hostility in play, as contrasted with instantaneous and explosive release of the smallest tension in reality situations was observed in Stanley.

The interview with Stanley's mother gave numerous revealing clues regarding the development of Stanley's explosive, restless and immature adaptation to the requirements of reality. His adaptation reflected a family pattern. His hostility display in the reality situations appeared to be a testing device which attempted to define limits and create order in the chaotic, inconsistent and over-indulgent treatment he received at the hand of his parents. There was an incredible and matter-of-course acceptance on the part of the mother of the family quarrels, or each member's "nervousness" and of the inconsistencies between her and her husband; she showed no guilt over the prevailing circumstances, no internalization of the difficulties and therefore no incentive toward change. Each member in this family simply got rid of his tensions by venting them.

The mother's statement "when he gets mad, he hollers back at me" gives a good description of the mutuality of friction between Stanley and her. When she was asked under what circumstances he was likely to get angry she replied, "On Sunday! Then the whole family is at home and

together." This again suggested that Stanley's explosiveness was part of a family pattern. Furthermore, his mother quite frankly said that she believed he developed his frequent temper tantrums as a result of the arguments between her and his father regarding his discipline. There was nothing consistent or invariably stable in Stanley's upbringing, and he made use of these inconsistencies. Not only, however, did these inconsistencies give him many advantages, but they also contributed to his anxiety. His mother described without disapproval the devices he used to gain his ends. "If he wants something he will tell you many compliments. He will say, 'You are a nice Mommy. Mommy please, please do this or that, and I will be friends with you.'" He knew that nothing his father ever said was final. The mother verbalized this by saying, "When his father does not give him the attention he wants, he insists much longer than with me, because he knows that he eventually will give in. He tries to get around him by making compliments."

In the play interview Stanley talked along the same lines when he was asked who was nicer to him, father or mother. He replied, "Daddy is nicer for me."

Inconsistency was reflected in the mother's preferential treatment of Stanley at the expense of his older brother. She said as much, "Brother is wrong because he is the bigger one," thus excusing Stanley from any blame in his fights with his brother. Inconsistency was also reflected in the mother's frank and unperturbed admission that she and her husband openly quarrel over Stanley's discipline. She said, "I think the children like their father better than me on account he says o.k. to everything. He never punishes the children, and says I am too hard on them. I have heard Stanley say to his father, 'My mother is mean to me. I don't like her.'" At another point the mother stated that her husband frequently asked her to justify her punitive actions in front of the children. The mother's impulsiveness was also reflected in her reasoning as to what were the most and least pleasant aspects of parenthood. She cried out, "I have two nice children. I am happy about them. My kids mean everything to me, they are my life. I could throw myself down a window for them. I love them. They are the best I have, and only thing I have. I love them--even more than their father."

Stanley's play was devoid of constructiveness, had no continuity, and afforded him no satisfaction. Several times during the play sessions Stanley spoke of leaving, but he never did. When he was presented with the stories he showed a peculiar mixture of listlessness, indifference, compliance and restlessness. He frequently wandered about the room, and his attention was spread over altogether too many toys. His poverty of thought and indifferent compliance was shown, for example, in the story in which he was asked what the little boy felt like doing when the mother gave him a disliked dish. Stanley said very casually, "He sits down and finishes his plate." Or when the boy figure was deprived of his favorite toy Stanley responded, "Baby asks 'Mother bring my toy back.'" When he was asked what the little boy felt like doing if mother did not bring his toy back, he said wearily, "Then he plays with another toy." His response to the story in which the mother figure is unable to give her attention to the little boy, reflected a number of Stanley's real-life at-

titudes. He said, "If Mother does not play with him, Brother gets up and plays with him. Then Father comes and plays with him. . . . My father is much nicer than my mother. . . . Mother comes later and plays with Baby.' (Note the repeated use of the word "baby" for the little boy figure.)

The play interview was spent in over-reacting to the frustration experiments and in restless exploration of more and more toys. Again his poverty of thought and lack of fantasy hostility was noted. His reaction to the frustration experiments is worth quoting, because it shows beautifully his lack of frustration-tolerance, his uninhibited and immediate need to abreact his tension, his expectation of winning his point in spite of previous statements to the contrary, as well as the strength of his conflicts which are not internalized, but are right at the surface, easily verbalized.

In the second frustration experiment, after being denied candy, Stanley said, "You will give me some when I go home. Or I will get some tomorrow." When told that E. would not come to the school the next day, Stanley said resolutely, "All right, I'll just grab some." He touched the candy and asked whether he could put it into water. He then made the boy doll eat candy. Then he said in a nagging, somewhat whining voice, "Will you give me some?" He then took a piece of candy and made believe he was eating it, looking at the same time at E. to see what effect his action would have. He then said wearily and restlessly, "I like to eat candy. . . . I don't like to eat candy. . . . I have to eat dinner." Only much later, in the middle of the play interview he thought again of his conflict. He again picked up a piece of candy, carrying it as far as his mouth, and he said, "I want to eat it. . . . I want to eat it. . . . I don't want to eat it." After showing more evidence of conflict, he left the scene, wandered about the room, and explored E.'s suit-case for more toys. When he returned to the table, he finally gave in to his temptation, took a piece of candy, licked it, and turning his face away from E., he put it into his mouth. When he was asked to put it back he complied. And again he started to verbalize his conflict as he said four times in a row, "I don't like candy as I want supper. I like to eat it but I don't like it." After a little while he added thoughtfully, "When I steal candy at home, Mommy does not say anything."

The teachers also commented on Stanley's shallowness in play, and his aggressiveness in real life. One teacher said, "In the free play period he does not stick to any activity for any length of time, and wanders from toy to toy. He likes puzzles relatively best and stays with them longest." The other teachers added, "He has a hard time getting along with the other children. They all seem to be prejudiced against his personality. He is helpless with them, therefore battles everything and everybody. With us he seems to go out of his way to annoy us. One gets the feeling at times that he is trying to test his strength." Both teachers considered him a very disturbed child.

After thus exploring some of the mechanisms which underlie the four patterns of adaption to hostility, it may be profitable to determine whether there is any relationship between these patterns and the overall adjustment of these children.

Although this problem was touched upon already in this chapter, it will be taken up more systematically in the next.

Summary

In this chapter an attempt was made to explore the mechanisms underlying the various adaptations to hostile feelings. Viewing the adaptation of the children who showed strong hostility in all situations dynamically, it becomes evident that (1) neither play nor reality offered these children sufficient outlet for their aggressions; (2) anxiety pushed them to test the strength of their feelings against reality limitations; (3) both unrestrictive permissiveness and undue severity on the part of the parents increased these children's hostility and anxiety; (4) explosive and overtly hostile parents furnished these children with rationale and justification for their own behavior; and (5) guilt over hostility set in motion further hostile acts as a punishment-provoking device aiming at the alleviation of anxiety.

Dynamically, the children who showed mild hostility in all situations were divided into two groups. Half of the children were fairly contented, placid, and even somewhat phlegmatic, lacking in initiative and forceful personality. One of the major factors responsible for their placid temperament and lack of hostility was their secure home background. The other half of the children did not display hostility because of deep-seated anxiety. They feared that they might lose what little parental affection they received if they dared show their aggression. Their basic conflict was one of ambivalence toward their parents; their adaptation to this conflict was essentially one in which submissive behavior was stressed and hostility was repressed.

Most of the children who showed strong hostility in the play situations and mild hostility in real life were able to utilize play and fantasy for the assimilation of their basic conflicts and hostilities. This release enabled them to maintain a relatively unaggressive position in real life. Their adaptation to real life on the whole was quite realistic in that they adjusted to the demands of reality and of socialization.

The children who showed little hostility in the play situ-

ations and strong hostility in reality were acting out, or giving vent to all their resentments and frustrations, and thus had less need to internalize their hostilities to the play and fantasy level. It was noted that this adaptation was facilitated and encouraged through parental examples. The parents of these children also were impulsive, explosive and uninhibited; the children merely fell into a family pattern.

Chapter X

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FOUR PATTERNS AND THE CHILDREN'S EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT

The following criteria were used in an effort to arrive at an adjustment rating for each child.

1. The frequency and intensity of his symptoms.
2. The combined teachers' adjustment ratings.
3. The experimenter's adjustment rating.

As was discussed in Chapter V, there were consistent differences between the teachers' and the experimenter's evaluations of the children's emotional adjustment. Quite naturally the teachers rated the conforming children as "well adjusted" because, as far as the school situation was concerned, these children were adjusting. The experimenter, by contrast, rated these children as "poorly adjusted" if their conforming behavior occurred at the expense of a great deal of anxiety, repression and inhibition.

Inevitably a choice as to what constitutes "good adjustment" involves some arbitrariness since "good adjustment" means something different to the teacher, to the parent, and to the clinician. Since this study is primarily concerned with psychodynamic relationships, most weight was laid on the ratings based on a psychodynamic formulation of "good adjustment."

The following were some of the criteria by which the experimenter rated "good adjustment":

1. Relative freedom from neurotic symptoms.
2. Successful adaptation to the demands of reality, which is made without sacrifice of the "self", or at the expense of a good deal of anxiety, repression and inhibition.
3. Integration between primitive impulses (the id) and the conscience (the super-ego) resulting in self-acceptance, and in a relative lack of strain and internal conflict.

Table 4.-Frequency and Intensity of Symptoms

Name	R	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	Total	Group
Betsy	2			2	3		1		2	2							1		7	A
Jerry	1		1		2					3!						1	2	1	7	A
Alice	1			1						3!				1		2			5	A
Helen	2		1	2							2						1		5	A
Kay	2				3				1	2!		1	2			1			7	A
Philip		2	2		3		3			3!	2				1	3	2	1	10	A
Joel										2	2		2				2		4	B
Rudi				1	1	1				2!					1			1	6	B
Barbara	(unreliable)				1					1						1	1		4	B
Patsy	2	1	2	1						2	1		2			2	1	1	10	B
Michael										1!	2						1		3	C
Lottie				1						1								1	3	C
Mario	1				2					2							1		4	C
Lucas		1		2	1					2!				1			1		6	C
Tony	3			1			2			3!					2		2		6	C
Irene		1	1	3						2!	1			1			1		7	C
Jack					2					2!			1	1					4	D
Henry		1							1	2!	2			1			2		6	D
Jaquel.	2			2	3				1	1	3			1		2	2		9	D
Stanley	2		2	1	2					2	1		2				1		8	D
Total	10	5	6	11	11	1	3	0	4	19	9	1	5	6	3	7	15	5	121	

Average and median number of symptoms per child: 6

R: Rivalry
A: Stuttering, stammering
B: Thumbsucking
C: Feeding whims
D: Temper tantrums
E: Soiling
F: Bedwetting
G: Daywetting
H: Vomiting
I: Fears
J: Nail-biting
K: Tics
L: Constipation
M: Daydreaming
N: Masturbation
O: Night terrors
P: Nightmares
Q: Persistence in baby talk

The symbol ! next to I signifies fear of the dark. The addition of ! does not mean that the child in question had no other fears.

1: Occasional occurrence of symptom..
2: More frequent and intense occurrence.
3: Excessive occurrence.
A: Children who showed strong hostility in all situations.
B: Children who showed mild hostility in all situations.
C: Children who showed strong hostility in the play situations and mild hostility in real life.
D: Children who showed mild hostility in the play situations and strong hostility in real life.

4. Ability to enter positive relationships with peers and adults which is largely possible through the integration mentioned in point 3.

In this chapter the teachers' ratings, the experimenter's evaluation and the frequency and intensity of the children's symptoms were brought into relation with the four hostility patterns. Such an exploration will throw light on whether expression of hostility, or the lack of it, in and of itself can be taken as an indicator of a child's emotional adjustment. In the process of this exploration it will be possible to touch upon such interesting questions as the average number of symptoms per child, the most and least frequently occurring symptoms in this group, and possibly the types of symptoms which are most frequently associated with the various hostility patterns.

A. Symptoms: Frequency and Intensity

Table 4 gives an account of the number of symptoms reported for each child by one of his parents or by his teachers, as well as the frequency with which each symptom occurred in this group of children. Intensity of the symptom was expressed in the numbers 1, 2, and 3, 1 standing for occasional occurrence of the symptom, 2 for more frequent and intense occurrence, and 3 for excessive occurrence. The figure 1 was also used to express strong occurrence of a symptom which was present in the past but was no longer in evidence. R stands for rivalry with other children, which included both a sibling-rivalry and instances in which strong rivalry with other peers was shown. The tabulation on masturbation (Letter N) was not reliable, since the sample included many families where inquiries as to this symptom might have caused objections.

Table 4 reveals a strikingly high frequency of symptoms in the children of this group. Even the average and the median of six symptoms per child is very high. Yet there was nothing in this group to suggest that it was in any way more disturbed than other groups of preschool children. The question then arises, what are the principal factors accounting for this high frequency of symptoms?

To answer this question, our discussion must enter the realm of interpretation and possibly even of speculation. According to much of the literature on personality development, the developmental stage in which these children found themselves may have been one of the responsible factors for the great number of symptoms shown. In our culture a child between the age of four and six finds himself in the midst of the process of socialization, and is either at the climax of his oedipal conflicts or in the course of solving them; these events tend to arouse a great deal of anxiety. According to psychoanalytic theory all symptomatic acts should be viewed as serving in one way or another as mechanisms of defense against anxiety (Freud, 38). In all probability had the children been two years older they would not have shown nearly as many symptoms, for on the one hand their internal pressures would not have been as great, and on the other hand their maturity and ability to handle anxiety-arousing situations would have been increased. While the process of socialization, with its numerous prohibitions, created great anxiety in the young child who is as yet incapable of directing his energies into any but the most limited channels, it also tends to decrease the anxiety of a maturing individual, as it offers an increasing number of possibilities for sublimation. In other words, as the process of socialization bars access to certain modes of behavior it opens the door to others. In the age group under consideration anxiety probably was at its peak, because these four and five year old children were passing through all-important and painful developmental stages, and at the same time they were not as yet equipped to handle their anxiety through sublimation. Numerous symptoms were the result.

The symptoms which were most prevalent in this group highlight the hypothesis that anxiety was markedly prevalent among these children. Fears were almost universal, and the incidence of nightmares was only slightly below that of fears. Undoubtedly these symptoms reflected not only anxiety but a good deal of repressed hostility as well. Aside from fears, nightmares and feeding whims, symptoms involving overt hostility showed the next highest frequency; they were temper tantrums and rivalry with siblings or peers. The symptoms that occurred least often were tics, soiling and diurnal and nocturnal enuresis.

Although the sample at hand is too small to allow any generalizations, the findings of Cummings (25) and others to the effect that boys suffer more frequently from emotional symptoms than girls, were not substantiated. The average number of symptoms for the boys in this group was 5.8, the average for the girls 6.3. The difference between the two group means was statistically insignificant. Masturbation was reported in boys only, but it had been stated previously that this area was not systematically investigated. Vomiting prevailed mostly among the girls, and feeding whims were more frequently encountered in the girls. The boys resorted slightly more frequently to temper tantrums than did the girls.

In a larger sample this distribution of symptoms between the sexes would not necessarily hold true.

B. Symptoms most Frequently Associated with the Various Hostility Patterns

The question next arose whether the various adaptations to hostility coincided with a "syndrome" of symptoms, characteristic of each pattern. For this purpose the symptoms of the children in each of the four patterns were listed, and the high frequency of any symptom in any of the four groups was noted.

1. Symptoms of the Children who Showed Strong Hostility in all Situations.

This group had relatively the highest incidence of symptoms. This substantiates to some extent the conclusion that these children found release neither in play nor in real-life situations. Possibly because of their tensional state they were slightly more likely to resort to symptomatic behavior than were the children who were able to obtain better release. The mean number of symptoms in this group was 6.83, and the standard error computed was $\pm$ .68.

In the light of what has been mentioned of this group previously, the predominating symptoms were not surprising. Clinically it would be reasonable to expect that these very hostile children show a great deal of rivalry toward their

siblings and peers, have frequent temper tantrums and suffer from fears and nightmares. Since fears were universal for the entire sample, their high frequency in this group cannot be called characteristic. However, nightmares and night terrors were reported for each child in this group, a slightly higher incidence than in the other groups. Five of the six children showed strong rivalry with other children and frequently resorted to temper tantrums. This high frequency was reached in no other group.

2. Symptoms of the Children who Showed Little Hostility In all Situations.

The mean number of symptoms per child in this group was 6. This average was raised by Patsy's ten symptoms, a frequency which was quite out of line with the rest of the children. It was therefore not surprising that the standard error of this mean was $\pm$ 1.2.

While fears and nightmares predominated (in three out of the four children) as in the other groups, there were no characteristic symptoms for this group that did not occur in the other groups also. The lack of homogeneity in this group which was discussed in the previous chapter was probably largely responsible for this. There it was pointed out that the children who showed little hostility in all situations were unaggressive either because of natural placidity and contentment, or because of a very basic anxiety which made them fear their underlying hostility. Hence it is not surprising that there is a lack of characteristic symptoms in such a small and divided group.

3. Symptom of the Children who Showed Strong Hostility In the Play Situations, and Mild Hostility in Real Life.

This group, in comparison with the other groups, showed relatively the fewest symptoms. Its mean was 4.8 and the standard error of the mean was $\pm$ .64 In the discussion of this group in the previous chapter, it was mentioned that Tony and Irene were somewhat atypical of this group, that they did not obtain complete release from their tensions in fantasy-life, and that they therefore developed tensions and symptoms in real life. If one excludes these two children, the mean number of symptoms for this group drops to 4, and the standard error to $\pm$ .61. Statistically (provided such an

analysis is advisable with such small subgroups), if the above two atypical cases are excluded, the mean number of symptoms of the group showing strong hostility in play and mild hostility in real life, is significantly smaller than the mean of the group showing strong hostility in all situations (between the 1 per cent and the 5 per cent level). As will be shown in the next section of this chapter, the group showing strong hostility in play situations and mild hostility in real life was on the whole better adjusted than the group showing strong hostility in all situations, and for that matter, probably better than any other group.

There were no particular symptoms which could be called characteristic for this group. Fears, nightmares, and night terror were as predominant as in all the other groups. Temper tantrums and rivalry with other children were naturally less frequent than in groups which showed strong hostility in all situations. Feeding whims were encountered in four of the six children, a frequency only equalled in the group showing little hostility in the play situations and strong hostility in real life. It is difficult to rationalize on theoretical grounds the high incidence of feeding whims in either group.

4. Symptoms of the Children who Showed Mild Hostility In the Play Situations, and Strong Hostility in Real Life.

The mean number of symptoms in this group was 6.75 with a standard error of $\pm$ .96. This value is second highest in the four groups, and approximates closely the mean obtained from the group which showed strong hostility in all situations. Again this shows a certain lack of balance on the part of these children, and a need to resort to symptomatic behavior to alleviate tension.

While fears and nightmares were as universal as in all the other groups, this group did have some characteristic symptoms not encountered in any other group. One of these symptoms was nail biting. Although there were occasional nail biters in the other groups, they did not appear with such frequency. Three of the four children in this group were nail biters. This high frequency is probably significant in terms of the mechanisms underlying the adaptation to hostility in this group. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that the children belonging in this group were apt to be explosive, acting out and venting all their tensions, and were mostly

falling into the pattern of their parents' impulsiveness. Kanner (46) in his Child Psychiatry described similar characteristics in nail biters.

> Nail biting is an expression of tenseness . . . Nail biting is frequently associated with motor restlessness . . . Nail biting must be viewed as one of several forms of discharges of inner tension . . . Homburger justly refers to it as "motorische Spannungsentausserung" (motor discharge of tension). . . . Tension is especially apt to express itself in the form of nail biting if the pattern has been furnished by older members of the family (46, pp. 336, 337).

Another symptom which appeared in three of the four children and occurred in no other group was daydreaming. This, however, was not significant because the illustrations given for two of the three children who supposedly daydreamed were such that one could not consider their activity as being true daydreaming. Feeding whims were as frequent in this group as in the previous one.

The above analysis could be simplified as follows: The children who showed mild hostility in real-life situations tended to have less symptoms, on the whole, than those who showed strong hostility. This would suggest that there were a greater number of well-adjusted children in the former groups than in the latter. It is the object of the following comparisons to investigate whether this relationship holds true.

C. Relationship between the Four Hostility Patterns with the Children's Emotional Adjustment

Before analyzing Table 5, an explanation is needed for the discrepancy between the teachers' and E.'s ratings on Alice, and the final rating of inferior adjustment on this child. The teachers very probably rated Alice as being well-adjusted on the ground that she was not a troublesome child in school, had good manners, and was neat and clean. In spite of this rating E. felt justified in rating her adjustment as inferior, since Alice showed an unusual amount of guilt and anxiety, a total lack of self-acceptance, an excessive number of fears causing a great many panics, and an already fairly advanced system of compulsions as a defense against her anxiety.

Table 5.-Adjustment of the Children Who Showed Strong Hostility in All Situations

Name	No. of symptoms	Comb. teachers' adjustm. rating	E's adjustm. rating	Final adjustm. rating
Betsy	Above average, intense	Fair	Fair	Fair
Jerry	Above average, intense	Superior to fair	Fair	Fair
Alice	Below average, very intense	Superior	Inferior	Inferior
Helen	Below average, fairly intense	Inferior	Inferior	Inferior
Kay	Above average, intense	Inferior	Very inferior	Very Inferior
Philip	Above average, very intense	Very inferior	Very inferior	Very Inferior

It becomes obvious from Table 5 that the majority (two thirds) of the children in this group tended to be maladjusted. None was really well adjusted. Most of them showed an above-average number of symptoms and some of the symptoms of all of these children were developed to a marked degree. The two children who were rated as fairly well adjusted suggest that excessive hostility by itself does not indicate that a child is poorly adjusted. It was the lack of integration between hostility, anxiety, and guilt which gave rise to poor adjustment in the remaining four children.

Table 6 also shows variance between the teachers' and E.'s adjustment ratings. On the whole, the teachers tended to rate the tractable, docile children as better adjusted than they really were. This was more fully discussed in the fifth chapter. In the case of Barbara, the most inhibited child in the whole group, the teachers conceded that they sometimes wondered whether she was not an emotionally very disturbed child. As for Patsy, her ten symptoms (some of which were quite severe), her anxiety, her suppressed hostility, and her grumbling resignation were sufficient to warrant an inferior adjustment rating.

Table 6.-Adjustment of the Children Who Showed Mild Hostility in All Situations

Name	No. of symptoms	Comb. teachers' adjustm. rating	E's adjustm. rating	Final adjustm. rating
Joel	Below average, fairly intense	Superior to fair	Superior	Superior
Rudi	Average	Fair to inferior	Fair	Fair
Barbara	Below average, report unreliable	Fair	Inferior	Inferior
Patsy	Above average, intense	Fair	Very inferior	Inferior

From the above it becomes evident that, in the group which showed little hostility in all situations, half of the children were fairly well adjusted, while the other half made a poor adjustment. The division occurred in accordance with the differences in dynamics underlying the submissive adaptation. Joel and Rudi who showed little hostility because they were placid, phlegmatic, lacking a forceful personality, were relatively well adjusted. Barbara and Patsy who were submissive for expediency's sake, out of anxiety, actually suppressing a good deal of hostility were poorly adjusted. Psychic tension thus created expressed itself in inferior adjustment.

Table 7.-Adjustment of the Children Who Showed Strong Hostility in the Play Situations and Mild Hostility in Real Life

Name	No. of symptoms	Comb. teachers' adjustm. rating	E.'s adjustm. rating	Final Adjustm. Rating
Michael	Below average	Very superior	Very superior	Very superior
Lottie	Below average	Superior	Superior	Superior
Mario	Below average	Superior	Superior	Superior
Lucas	Average	Fair	Fair	Fair
Tony	Average, very intense	Superior to fair	Inferior	Inferior
Irene	Above average, very intense	Fair to inferior	Inferior	Inferior

Again, in Tony's case, the teachers over-rated him because he was not a troublesome child. They did concede in conference that he was a dependent, immature child, who lacked initiative, did not belong to the group, showed no progress in school, and was a poor eater. The data collected on Tony (see chapters II, VI, and IX) showed actually that he was, at least at the time he was seen, a severely disturbed child. This was brought out especially in his suicidal fantasies and his numerous regressions after the birth of a baby brother.

In analyzing Table 7, we find that a majority (two-thirds) of the children belonging to this group were rather well adjusted. These same children had an average or below-average number of symptoms. Probably these children achieved such good balance partly because they lived out most of their conflicts and aggressions at the fantasy level, and did not need to express them, to act them out in real life. Credit must be given these children for adjusting to the demands of the environment without showing strains and tensions over the compromise between their egocentric wishes and the requirements of reality. The smooth adaptation to reality's demands is an important part of the growing-up process, and these children, who were able to solve their conflicts and come to terms with their hostility in fantasy life, showed, in that sense, a good deal of maturity.

The two children in this group who were poorly adjusted did show severe strains in their adjustment to reality, even though these were not expressed in form of hostility. As was discussed before (see chapter IX) there were qualitative differences in these two children's play, when compared to that of other children in this group. Their play reflected intensity and a specificity of hostile preoccupations not encountered in the better-adjusted children. For them play and fantasy life did not offer a complete release or a satisfactory plane on which to work out their problems.

Again, in Table 8, a division is seen, half of the children being well, or fairly well adjusted, and half of them adjusting very poorly. Much of the explanation for this lies in the relative position of these four children on the frequency distribution of hostility tallies. While Jaqueline and Stanley accumulate a very high number of hostility tallies when their everyday behavior was described, Jack and Henry approached the group of moderately hostile children. Dynamically, Jack

and Henry certainly adapted like Jaqueline and Stanley, giving vent to their feelings at the slightest occasion, but their reactions were not carried to the extremes witnessed in Jaqueline and Stanley. The very fact that their reaction was more moderate helped them make a better adjustment because their behavior was not sufficiently extreme to interfere drastically with their inter-personal relationships. The other two children's behavior seriously interfered with their relations to their parents, teachers, and peers. The difficulties thus arising made a good adjustment much more difficult.

Table 8.-Adjustment of the Children Who Showed Mild Hostility in the Play Situations and Strong Hostility in Real Life

Name	No. of symptoms	Comb. teachers' adjustm. rating	E's adjustm. rating	Final adjustm. rating
Jack	Below average	Superior	Superior	Superior
Henry	Average	Fair	Fair	Fair
Jaqueline	Above average, very intense	Inferior to very inferior	Very inferior	Very Inferior
Stanley	Above average, very intense	Inferior to very inferior	Very inferior	Very Inferior

In reviewing the adjustment ratings of the children in the four groups, it appears that the expression of hostility, either in play or real life, was not in and of itself diagnostic of a particular child's adjustment. In other words, a child showing hostility in either play or real-life situations may be a better adjusted child than one who out of anxiety and guilt suppresses that hostility. Or vice versa, a child who is able to control his resentment without too much strain may make a more mature adjustment than a child who is compelled to give vent to all his hostilities. Expression of hostility may therefore be a favorable as well as an unfavorable sign of a child's emotional adjustment. Qualitative and dynamic differences, such as intensity and specificity of hostility, as well as the by-products of hostility, such as anxiety and guilt, were much better indices of a child's emotional adjustment than the mere expression, or lack of expression of hostility (see Bergler's "Differential Diagnosis between 'Normal' and 'Neurotic' Aggression (13).

A numerical recapitulation may bring out this lack of a one-to-one relationship more clearly.

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Considering first the play situations: there were 12 children who displayed a good deal of hostility in play; 6 of these were well adjusted children, 6 were poorly adjusted. Of the 8 children who showed mild hostility in play, 4 were well adjusted and 4 were poorly adjusted. Display of hostility in play, or the lack of it, then should not per se be taken as an indicator of a child's emotional adjustment.

When behavior in the reality situation was considered, an inverse relationship was noted in the adjustment of the children who were very hostile and those who were not. There were 10 children who showed strong hostility in real life, 4 of whom were well or fairly well adjusted, and 6 of whom were poorly adjusted. Among the 10 children who were only mildly hostile, 6 were well adjusted, and 4 were poorly adjusted. This corroborates to some extent the previous hypothesis that outwardly hostile children tended, along with more frequent symptoms, to be less well adjusted. However, there were so many exceptions, as can be seen from the above figures, that again mild or strong hostility expressed in real-life situations cannot be taken as an indicator of a child's emotional adjustment.

Altogether, therefore, the answer to a child's adjustment did not lie in whether or not he expressed a great deal of hostility in play or real life, but in the direction which this hostility took, in the balance achieved between aggression and the resulting guilt and anxiety, and the repercussions on inter-personal relationships and other phases of adjustment.

Summary

In this chapter the children's emotional adjustment was brought into relation with the patterns they adopted toward their hostile feelings. Adjustment ratings were obtained by considering the number and intensity of a child's symptoms, the combined teachers' and the experimenter's adjustment ratings. Analysis of the data revealed that expression of hostility per se, either in play or real life, could not be taken as an indicator of a child's emotional adjustment.

Chapter XI

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FOUR PATTERNS AND PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

The literature on the effect of parent-child relationships on child development, adjustment, and behavior characteristics is growing daily. Only those references will be discussed here which have direct bearing on the problem of hostility in interaction with negative and positive parental attitudes. Much has been written on that subject also, and there are many contributions, the findings of which are at times somewhat confusing.

Review of the Literature

The Smith College School of Social work published a number of studies on the relationship between aggression and home background. Knight (49) in his comparison between the parental attitudes of nine aggressive and nine submissive children stated,

> The homes of the submissive children were assertedly harmonious, while they were markedly unharmonious in the aggressive group. Parental adjustment was not significantly different in the two groups. The parental attitudes toward the submissive and aggressive children were singularly alike. Marked differences appeared, however, in the maternal attitudes, which in the submissive group were almost entirely overprotective, and in the aggressive group markedly rejective (49, p. 168).

Another Smith College Study dealt with the causes of jealousy in young children. Sewall (83) wrote,

> . . . Maladjustment in the home is closely correlated with both jealousy and inconsistency in methods of discipline. The inference seems justified that there is a tendency for jealousy to develop in an atmosphere of mal-

adjustment, such maladjustment often meaning an overprotective mother a negative father, some marital or other relationship discord and inconsistent discipline (83, p. 22).

Zimmerman (96) in her investigation of parental adjustments and attitudes as related to children's problems dealt with an age group similar to the one considered in this study. Referring to five and six year old children she stated,

The aggressive children tended to have overprotecting or rejecting mothers; the timid children to have oversolicitous or overanxious mothers (96, p. 407).

Newell (65) published two studies on maternal rejection. He drew the following conclusions from his second study:

Boys are aggressive when either (or both) parents' handling is consistently hostile. Girls are aggressive when either (or both) parents' handling is ambivalent, or when the father is hostile. Boys are submissive when either parent is consistently protective. Girls are submissive when fathers are protective or ambivalent. Boys show mixed behavior when either (or both) parents are consistently hostile (65, pp. 585, 587).

Striking in many of these studies were not only the facts they uncovered, but the unmentioned point that a given very aggressive child could have almost any type of parent, rejecting, oversolicitous, ambivalent, or any other. For example, Sewall in her inference that jealousy tends to develop in an atmosphere of maladjustment--meaning thereby an overprotective mother, a negative father, some marital or other relationship discord, and inconsistent discipline--covers a great deal of territory in her explanation. Realistically, it will be the rare child who in his home background, does not show strains of one sort or another, strains which might be considered responsible for his difficulties. While there seem to be many rejected children who are essentially hostile children, there are a good many, as seen in clinics, who are not. There seems to be in no phase of personality adjustment a one-to-one relationship between any two occurrences. While it seems very useful to point out common features, the negative aspects and the exceptions should be stressed as well, so as to encourage diagnostic caution.

Hinkle (41), a Jungian analyst, lucidly captured certain phases of this point of view in her book "Re-creating of the Individual." She stated,

The widely varying environmental conditions as they are revealed in analysis force one to the realization that the objective situation is of much less importance for the psychological development of the individual than was formerly considered. One is unable to attach to the environmental factors the value of supreme agents in determining the psychic reactions

when we see every possible human attitude and reaction blamed or used by different persons as the determining element for the inadequacy or faulty psychic conditions presented. . . . From large and very careful study of both neurotic and normal individuals it became increasingly evident to me that the actual external factors play a much less important part in the production of the conditions than we are apt to think. Practically all these people themselves lay great stress on the family situation, are critical of the parents, one or both, or attribute to the place in the family the causative factors for the difficulties experienced in childhood and youth. But when one considers the difficulties due to being the oldest child and another considers being the youngest is the unfortunate situation, while a third attributes it to the middle position, and a fourth to being an only child, there can be little general significance in these factors. Correspondingly the relation to the parents, or the character of the parents, is made the important factor; for one the father is too stern and dominating, for another too yielding and gentle, or the mother is weak or too affectionate, or is too capable or is not sufficiently responsive, and so the stories run, until it soon becomes evident that the particular attitude of the parent plays a lesser part in the development of the neurotic status than one is at first inclined to consider.

This does not mean that the effect of the parents upon the child is not overwhelming and immeasurable, for this influence is certainly unquestionable. But it is just because they are parents and not because of any particular attitude or condition. (My underlining) (41, pp. 386, 387, 389, 390.)

These excerpts touch the deeper layers of the complexity of personality adjustment which are less frequently brought out in the literature. Many workers in the field fall in too readily with a person's rationalization that he developed a given characteristic as a result of parent rejection, overprotection, etc. Quite often, as seen in the analyses of deep-seated dynamics, parental attitudes serve as an excellent "coat rack," as rationalizations which becloud and even cover up the actual origin of the problem. In these cases it is wise to keep in mind Hinkle's statement to the effect that difficulties arise at times regardless of parental attitudes, and stem largely from the very position that parent and child hold to each other.

Isaacs (42) in a discussion of feelings of guilt and anxiety, which are closely allied with feelings of hostility, also goes on record with the point of view that these feelings are less dependent on parental teachings than is commonly assumed.

The question as to whether or not these fears of punishment and the sense of guilt develop spontaneously in the child's mind, or are entirely due to teaching and adult prestige, is one which we have been able to appraise and understand through the light which psychoanalysis has thrown on the early stages of development. . . . It has become definitely established--although this conclusion is so surprising to liberal educators --that the sense of guilt, or, more strictly, the deeper anxieties that

represent the primitive forerunners of the sense of guilt, do develop spontaneously in the child's mind, whatever be the precise nature of his educational experiences. The environment can, of course, greatly foster and overstimulate the sense of guilt by overstrict treatment. . . . But, in essence, the sense of guilt is inherent in the fundamental interactions between human mental structure and inevitable early experiences (42, p. 371).

Keeping in mind the positive findings outlined by some authors, and the cautious scepticism of others, let us examine whether there is a relationship between parental acceptance or rejection and the various adaptations to hostility as brought out through the data at hand. This will first necessitate a description of the process through which the parents were rated as either accepting, ambivalent, or rejecting.

A. Rating Process of Parental Acceptance and Rejection

Symonds' (88) criteria on evidence for parental rejection and acceptance were extremely useful in deciding what to take as evidence for either. Among other things, he listed as evidence for acceptance of a child: child wanted at birth; parents interested in his games, hobbies, plans, ambitions; parent speaks well of child, is demonstrative toward him, gives child loving care; child is favored over siblings; child's opinion is asked for and respected; child is trusted, is given plenty of toys, etc.

As evidence for rejection he listed: parent shows no interest in child, has no time for child; child is subjected to unfavorable comparison with siblings; verbal punishment--nagging, scolding, criticism or blame of child, physical punishment or cruelty; parent annoyed by child; child given too much supervision; child unwanted at birth, and many other criteria.

All parent interviews and school reports were scrutinized in terms of these criteria by two independent judges. Each bit of evidence was marked with a plus sign for an accepting, and a minus sign for a rejecting attitude. Then the pluses and minuses were added.

In an attempt to investigate whether strong evidence for

acceptance was associated with few signs of rejection, and vice versa, whether a great deal of evidence suggesting strong parental rejection was associated with few indications of parental acceptance, the pluses and the minuses were correlated. A fairly strong negative relationship was found, suggesting that high acceptance scores were associated with low rejection scores, and vice versa. The correlation coefficient was -.67 which was significant at the one per cent level.

This high negative correlation made it fairly safe to rate parental attitudes in the following manner; all informants earning a great number of minus and few plus scores were rated as essentially rejecting; all informants earning many plus and few minus scores were rated as essentially accepting. Those showing an equal or almost equal number of both were rated as ambivalent. The fathers' attitudes were not always reliably ascertained, as most parent interviews were with the mothers. However, several were conducted with both parents answering, and there was occasion in thirteen of the twenty cases to see the father in action, either speaking of, or dealing with the child.

Table 9 demonstrated that the agreement between the two independent raters was quite high.

Table 9.-Per Cent of Agreement Between Two Independent Raters Evaluating Parental Attitude

Complete agreement	70 per cent
Disagreement on one parent, 1/2 step	15 per cent
Disagreement on one parent, 1 step	15 per cent
Disagreement on one parent, 2 steps	None
Disagreement on both parents	None

Half-step discrepancies were those instances, for example, in which one judge rated a mother as ambivalent with strong leanings toward being acceptant, and the other as accepting. One point difference occurred when one rater evaluated a parent as being rejecting and the other as ambivalent.

Table 9 is presented primarily to show the high agreement between raters. Since the few discrepancies between the two raters were only minor, and since the investigator had important additional criteria by which to evaluate parental attitudes (e.g. first-hand observation of warmth or irritation in a parent's voice or handling of the child), it was agreed to

consider the experimenter's ratings as final whenever there was disagreement.

As was mentioned in chapter IV, the question on what were the most and least enjoyable aspects of parenthood turned out to be a most sensitive device in exploring parental attitude. This was strongly substantiated when the parents' answers were compared with their acceptance ratings as computed above. The answer to this question spotted correctly 7 out of 9 informants who were essentially rejecting, and all 5 who were essentially accepting. It also spotted 3 out of 4 ambivalent mothers as they gave very equivocal answers. Two informants were not asked the question.

B. Relationship between the Four Patterns and Parental Acceptance or Rejection

Seemingly, none of the children who showed strong hostility in all situations were fully or warm-heartedly accepted by either parent. All of these children were rejected by at least one parent. Undoubtedly there was interaction between the parental rejection and the children's behavior. While much of the hostility probably stemmed from the fact that these

Table 10.-Parental Acceptance in the Children Who Showed Strong Hostility in all Situations

Name	Scores Plus	Scores Minus	Analysis of parental acceptance	Final acceptance rating
Betsy	4	8	Mother ambivalent, tending to be rejecting. Father ambivalent	Plus-Minus
Jerry	2	21	Mother rejecting. Father ambivalent	Plus-Minus
Alice	2	19	Mother cold and rejecting. Father seemingly more accepting	Plus-Minus
Helen	4	19	Mother cold and rejecting. Father seemingly more accepting	Plus-Minus
Kay	6	25	Mother ambivalent, indulgent. Father very rejecting.	Plus-Minus
Philip	0	17	Mother uninterested and rejecting. Father rejecting	Minus

children did not feel accepted, the children in turn, through their hostile behavior, made themselves less acceptable to their parents. Each in turn furnished the other with rationale for their respective behavior. The vicious circle thus engendered within this group has been discussed previously.

While the final acceptance rating pointed fairly consistently to negative parental feelings, it became evident in examining the analyses of the various parental constellations that there were certain dissimilarities. These differences serve as a warning that the final acceptance ratings may err in the direction of oversimplification. Probably the fact that there was not a single warmly accepting mother or father within this group was much more important than the apparent similarity of the final acceptance ratings.

Table 11.-Parental Acceptance in the Children Who Showed Mild Hostility in all Situations

Name	Scores		Analysis of parental acceptance	Final acceptance rating
	Plus	Minus		
Joel	20	4	Mother warmly accepting. Father warmly accepting	Plus
Rudi	10	2	Mother accepting, matter of fact. Father seems accepting, judging from report	Plus
Barbara	3	13	Mother reported as stern rejecting. Father uninterested rejecting	Minus
Patsy	0	23	Mother rejecting. Father rejecting	Minus

In terms of what is known of this group, the above division between accepting and rejecting parents does not come as a surprise. Each of these children followed a very consistent path, completely in accord with their personality patterning as a whole. The first two children were warmly accepted; partly for that reason, no doubt, they did not feel the need to express a great deal of hostility. They were placid, contented, and the dynamics underlying their behavior were less complex than those of the other two children. These latter, rejected as they were, refrained from expressing the hostility they felt apparently because they were too anxious and afraid of the consequences. Their adjustment was inferior, and the mechanisms underlying their behavior were more involved and less wholesome.

Thus, while these children showed marked intraindividual consistency, there was a complete lack of intragroup consistency as far as dynamics and adjustment, as well as parental acceptance, were concerned. In this small sample, half the children who showed little hostility in all situations had accepting parents; half of them were rejecting.

As seen in Table 12 the parental attitudes in the next group ranged all the way from warmly accepting to strongly rejecting. In other words, the children who showed strong hostility in play and mild hostility in real life, were exposed to the most varying parental attitudes. In this group, there were not even the consistencies which were observed in the previous group.

Table 12.-Parental Acceptance in the Children Who Showed Strong Hostility in the Play Situations and Mild Hostility in Real Life

Name	Scores		Analysis of parental acceptance	Final acceptance rating
	Plus	Minus		
Michael	16	2	Mother warmly accepting. Father accepting	Plus
Lottie	1	30	Mother rejecting. Father?	Minus?
Mario	3	10	Mother ambivalent. Father uninterested and rejecting	Plus-Minus
Lucas	7	13	Mother ambivalent, overprotective. Father ambivalent	Plus-Minus
Tony	14	1	Mother accepting. Father accepting	Plus
Irene	16	14	Mother rejecting. Father accepting	Plus-Minus

Some of the children who were well adjusted had rejecting or partially rejecting parents. The last two children who earned inferior adjustment ratings were warmly accepted, by one parent in one case, by both in the other. This again serves to indicate that, due to an infinite complexity, it is frequently impossible to establish causal one-to-one relationships between any two factors in personality adjustment.

Table 13 indicates that, in the final ratings, most of the children in this group were rejected by either or both parents. And again, upon closer inspection of the various

constellations, the picture becomes more complex than is indicated in the final acceptance ratings. Also, bringing the parental acceptance ratings into relation with the adjustment ratings of these children, we find that the first two, relatively well-adjusted children, were essentially rejected by their parents, while Stanley, an extremely poorly adjusted child, was well accepted by his parents. Again this points to the fact that the issues are complex, and that more than two factors enter into the situation. In Stanley's case, for example, the parents' indulgence and inability to restrict him did more harm than their acceptance could have done him good. Thus, in every case, there is not a single factor, but a multitude of factors, balancing and counterbalancing, and forming the composite whole of a child's adaptation.

Table 13.-Parental Acceptance in the Children Who Showed Mild Hostility in the Play Situations and Strong Hostility in Real Life

Name	Scores		Analysis of parental acceptance	Final acceptance rating
	Plus	Minus		
Jack	4	15	Mother rejecting. Father seemingly ambivalent.	Plus-Minus
Henry	1	30	Mother rejecting. Father rejecting.	Minus
Jaquel.	8	13	Mother ambivalent. Father rejecting.	Plus-Minus
Stanley	10	2	Mother accepting, indulgent. Father passive, accepting, indulgent.	Plus

Again, a numerical recapitulation may serve to clarify how uncertain the relationship between parental acceptance and expression of hostility was. Among the 12 children who freely expressed hostility in play, 2 had accepting parents, 2 were rejected, and in 8 children a mixed situation prevailed, one parent being accepting, the other rejecting, or either or both parents being ambivalent. Of the 8 children who showed mild hostility in play, 3 had accepting, and 3 had rejecting parents; in two cases the situation was mixed.

Among the 10 children who expressed a great deal of hostility in real life, 1 was accepted, 2 were rejected, and in 7 cases the situation was mixed. Of those, 10 children who

were largely submissive in real life, 4 were accepted, and 3 were rejected children, while in three cases the situation was mixed. In this last comparison it became evident that there were a few more accepted children among the submissive group than among those children who expressed a great deal of hostility.

Altogether, even though there probably was some causal relationship between hostility expression and lack of parental acceptance in individual children, numerical evidence pointed to the fact that the existence of such a causal relationship could not be generally assumed. Parental rejection undoubtedly had its profound effects on all the rejected children, but it did not work uniformly in all cases. While it produced a good deal of overt hostility expression in many cases, other children's adaptations to it were full of detours, compromises, sublimations, or repressions.

C. Relationship between Expression of Hostility and Corporal Punishment

Clinically it is entirely reasonable to expect that a relationship might exist between a child's hostile fantasies and his overtly hostile behavior, and the amount of corporal punishment he receives from his parents.

In this group all but one of the children received corporal punishment. The degree to which that type of discipline was resorted to varied; it was called "moderate" when a parent did not spank a child more frequently than once in three or more weeks, and "severe" when practiced routinely, or with undue severity (e.g. when a stick or leather strap was used).

In a first comparison, the degree of corporal punishment received by all the children who were reported to show strong hostility in real life were studied. Of the 10 overtly hostile children 6 received severe spankings and 4 did not. The discipline of 2 of the 4 children who did not get severe spankings was by no means mild. Alice, one of these children, had a cold, stern and punitive mother, who believed in practically every form of discipline other than corporal punishment. Kay, the other child, had shown her parents that her rage following a spanking was absolutely uncontrollable, and they

therefore abstained for the sake of expediency. Their discipline otherwise was either very harsh, or occasionally astonishingly lax. Thus, with these qualifications, among the 10 overtly hostile children 8 were severely disciplined, while only 2 were not.

This relationship was inverse for the children who were reported to show little hostility in real life. Of the 10 children who were essentially submissive, only 2 were spanked severely and 8 were disciplined moderately.

The figures quoted above definitely seem to indicate that in this group of children severe corporal punishment occurred in children who were reported as strongly hostile in real life, and vice versa, that moderate discipline tended to occur in children reported to be submissive in real-life behavior. Clinically it is not surprising that frequent and harsh discipline would arouse strong hostile impulses and that moderation would reduce the occasions in which overt hostility is provoked.

Next the question arose whether severe corporal punishment affected hostility feelings even at the fantasy level. Of the 12 children who showed a great deal of hostility in play, 6 received severe spankings, and 6 did not. By contrast, of the 8 children who showed only mild hostility in play, only 2 were severely spanked, while 6 were moderately disciplined. These figures suggest that the relationship between severity of corporal punishment and fantasy hostility was not nearly as certain as when overt hostility was considered.

D. Relationship between Corporal Punishment and Emotional Adjustment

In this comparison the combined adjustment ratings (see Chapter X) and the degree of corporal punishment were correlated.

Table 14 demonstrates that in this sample no relationship could be detected between severe corporal punishment and poor adjustment, or between moderate discipline and good adjustment.

Some of the children who were severely beaten made a good or fair emotional adjustment, and some of the children who

were disciplined moderately made poor adjustments. It was particularly striking that 3 of the 4 children who received the most inferior adjustment ratings were spanked only moderately. These three children (Kay, Jaqueline, and Stanley) also were excessively hostile in real-life situations. Paradoxically, severe punishment might have alleviated these children's sense of guilt over their hostility to some extent, and thus might have effected a better adjustment. Needless to say, benevolent firmness and consistent restrictiveness would have been much more beneficial to these children. However, even corporal punishment, as poor a pedagogy as it might be, might have helped these children to control their rampant, hostile behavior to some extent, which would have reduced their anxiety and guilt considerably.*

Table 14.-Relationship between Emotional Adjustment and Corporal Punishment

Adjustment rating	No. of severely punished children	No. of moderately punished children
Very superior	0	1
Superior	2	2
Fair	3	2
Inferior	2	4
Very Inferior	1	3

*See W.R.D. Fairbairn (32, p. 169). Also Isaacs (42, pp. 422, 424). "If an adult in charge does not accept the function of super-ego, she necessarily and automatically becomes to the child the representative of his own bad aggressive self. . . . If a parent is passive, one of two things happens; either the child believes that the grown-up endorses what he is doing, or he suffers internally from the tension of guilt which fails to find relief in his being told what he must not do, a tension which issues sooner or later in actions aimed at provoking anger and punishment. . . . Moreover, the idea that if we leave the child entirely free to do what he likes we are thereby "avoiding repression" is a mistaken one since as I have already shown, this simply means leaving the child at the mercy of his own primitive super-ego, with all its accompanying phantasies of retribution. We do not, and cannot leave him free to the expression of simple, uninhibited wishes as is sometimes imagined."

Summary

In this chapter parental acceptance and rejection were correlated with the four hostility patterns. Parental acceptance and rejection were evaluated independently by two raters; they achieved a 70% agreement and the discrepancies were only minor. While the parental attitudes toward a given child were dynamically consistent with what was otherwise known about that child, no causal relationship could be established between parental acceptance or rejection and the four hostility patterns. Parental rejection had profound effects on all the children, but it did not produce the same results in all cases. While it produced a good deal of overt hostility in many children, others responded with different adaptations.

Severe corporal punishment frequently occurred in children reported to have a strong need to express hostility in real life. Moderate discipline was associated with submissive behavior in both play and real life.

No relationship could be demonstrated between severity in corporal punishment and relative success of the children's emotional adjustment.

Chapter XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Purpose of the Study

One of the primary aims of this investigation was to compare the ways in which a group of preschool children dealt with their hostility feelings at the level of play and fantasy with the modes which they employed in real-life situations. The study also endeavored to explore the following questions: (1) the frequency with which these children expressed hostility in play; (2) the consistency of their hostility expression as measured by two fundamentally different projective technics; (3) the mechanisms underlying their multiple adaptations to hostility in play and real life, and (4) the relationship between their adaptation and their emotional adjustment on the one hand, and their relationships with their parents on the other.

B. The Subjects

The subjects in this study consisted of twenty children between the ages of four and six, eleven boys and nine girls whose I.Q.'s ranged from 90 to 126. The majority were second generation Americans of Roman Catholic faith, and were from an environment of fairly low socio-economic level. The children constituted the entire population of the kindergarten group at Bethlehem Day Nursery with the exception of six children who did not qualify either because they lacked one or both parents, or because they did not fall within the four-to-six year age limit.

C. Experimental Procedure

1. Methodological steps which permitted observation of hostility expression in play.

(a) Each child was presented with ten incomplete stories dealing with his everyday experiences, and was asked to complete them in word and play. Dolls representing a replica of the child's family composition and doll furniture were put at his disposition. (Reliability coefficient of this technic for eliciting hostile fantasies was .87 as calculated by the split-half method.)

(b) Each child had a free-play interview in which the same and additional dolls, clay, and paint were made available. The experimenter entered the child's play only upon his request, and when asking three standard questions regarding parental treatment and preference.

2. Methods used to investigate hostility expression in real life.

(a) One or both parents were interviewed. Aside from exploring parent-child relationships, parental acceptance or rejection, methods of discipline and the child's reaction to it, the parents were asked what the child's probable reaction would be in situations identical with those presented to the child in the form of incomplete stories.

(b) The teachers who jointly conducted the group were interviewed and asked to rate each child independently on five-point rating scales covering his relations with peers, his hostile reactions toward adults and contemporaries, and his emotional adjustment.

(c) Two frustration experiments were administered to each child in an attempt to probe his reaction to frustration in real life. While these experiments elicited interesting material, they were discarded as a third check on reality behavior because they did not prove to be comparable to the other methods used.

D. Treatment of the Data

The data were analysed both qualitatively and quantitative-

ly. To increase the reliability of judgment on the protocols, two independent raters evaluated the degree and frequency of incidents of hostility as reflected in the stories, the free-play interviews, and the parent interviews. The sum of the hostility tallies for each of these units of the study was charted on a separate frequency distribution. The position each child held on that frequency distribution indicated whether he tended to be strongly or mildly hostile in that particular unit. A similar division between strongly and mildly hostile children was made on the basis of the teachers' ratings. By comparing a particular child's position on the hostility scale in the play situations with his position in the real-life situations, the congruities and divergencies of his ways of dealing with his hostile feelings at the fantasy and reality levels could be detected.

E. Basic Findings and their Theoretical Implications

1. Expression of hostility in play and real life, although varying in degree, was universal in this group of presumably normal preschool children. While occasional hostile reactions to parents and teachers are to be expected in the course of any child's upbringing, the unfailing occurrence of hostility in the play sessions opens the question as to how universally one may expect young children in our culture to express hostility in individualized play sessions. This question obviously is very important to clinicians, guidance workers, and play therapists because of their wide use of play interviews as diagnostic tools.

While the sample studied in this investigation is too small to permit generalizations about preschool children in general, cumulative evidence added by other samples (7, 11, 26, 27, 67, 68, 69, 72, 78) points to the fact that aggressive fantasies are among the most common occurrences in child play. In viewing the mutually confirming results of these independent samples together, it is perhaps reasonably sound to theorize that, with present methods of child rearing in our culture, incidents of fantasy hostility would be widespread and therefore expected to occur in individual play sessions with pre-

school children. If this generalization holds true it follows that, in view of its widespread occurrence, expression of hostility in play per se is not diagnostically differentiating, a finding which represents a verification of everyday observations and other research.

2. The sample studied showed striking inconsistencies between hostility expressed in play and hostile behavior as reported by parents. Three types of data analyses indicated that no inference could be made about a child's hostile behavior from observing his play. A correlation of .21 was obtained between the sum total of hostility tallies accumulated in the ten stories and those accumulated through the parents' report covering the same ten situations. With a possible range from 0 to 10 agreements, the average number of 3.85 point-by-point agreements between hostile reactions in the ten stories and in similar situations in real life was so low, that the fact that no inference could be made from one situation to the other was further corroborated. This same lack of predictability between the two situations was noted when a more complete pattern analysis was made. While half the children remained consistent in all the situations (either strongly hostile or mildly hostile throughout), half the children clearly reversed their position, and were strongly hostile in the play situations and mildly hostile in the real-life situations, or vice versa.

The fact that in this sample no inference could be made regarding a child's hostile behavior in real life on the basis of observing his play challenges many tacit assumptions in clinical practice, confirms previous research (33a), and invites wider verification. The lack of correspondence between play and reality behavior has wide implications for the practice of play interviews as a diagnostic tool. In the light of the findings, if generally applicable, one cannot safely estimate from the hostility expressed in play, how hostile a given child may be in real life, or for that matter infer from his fantasies what has actually happened to him in real life. While this realization encourages clinical caution, it does not discredit the value of play interview, for, from the point of view of diagnosis and insight into a child's personality structure, his actual experiences may not be nearly as important as his subjective feelings about them. Along the same line of reasoning, the parallelism between his hostility expressed

in play and in real life may not be nearly as important and instructive as might be his adaptation to his hostile feelings, for even though a child may reverse his position, and may be very hostile in play and very submissive in real life, he is not a different kind of child in the two situations, but simply adapts differently to his hostile feelings in fantasy and in reality. In these different adaptations lies part of the key and formula to the highly individual and characteristic balance a given child achieves in an attempt to reconcile his basic conflicts, wishes, anxieties and aspirations.

3. The children in this sample revealed four patterns with respect to expression of hostility: (a) children who showed strong hostility in the play and real-life situations; (b) children who showed mild hostility in all situations; (c) children who showed strong hostility in the play situations and very little in actual behavior; and (d) children who showed mild hostility in the play situations and strong overt hostility in the real-life situations. These patterns of adaptation to hostility were related to adjustment ratings on the children, derived from the combined evaluation of the teachers and the writer, and the consideration of the frequency and intensity of the children's symptoms. Of those children who expressed a great deal of hostility in play exactly half were well adjusted and half were relatively poorly adjusted. This same dichotomy was seen in the children who showed only mild hostility in play. While, in this group, a slightly greater number of the children who were rated as poorly adjusted were among the children who were reported to show strong hostility at home and at school, there were almost as many among the children who were reported as only mildly hostile in real-life behavior.

From this evidence it appeared that, in this sample, expression of hostility per se in either play or real life could not be taken as indicative of a child's emotional adjustment. Scrutiny of the underlying mechanisms as to why the various children made different adaptations to their hostility feelings in play and real life, was much more fruitful in pointing to important factors in their adjustment. Analysis of the individual case studies revealed that play was used by some children as a means to work out their hostile feelings, and that in others, hostility was too intense to be completely assimilated in play. The reasons for display of hostility in

real life varied, and it was in these reasons rather than in the expression of hostility per se that clues to the emotional adjustments of these children could be found. Anxiety caused some of the children to express hostility and in so doing, they tested the strength of their feelings against reality limitations; others used hostility as a punishment-provoking device to alleviate anxiety; still others retaliated self-protectively against frustrations inflicted by parents, or followed parental examples of giving vent to all their feelings, including resentment. The reasons for not expressing hostility in real life again varied. Some of the children suppressed their hostility out of feelings of guilt, or fear of loss of parental affection; others truly did not need to show any hostility either because they were able to assimilate such feelings at the level of play and fantasy and were thus able to comply with environmental taboos against hostility, or because they were essentially placid, contended children.

Altogether, the clue to a child's adjustment did not lie in whether or not he expressed a great deal of hostility in play or real life, but did appear in the direction which this hostility took, in the balance achieved between aggression and the resulting guilt and anxiety, and the repercussions on interpersonal relationships.

The theoretical implication of this conclusion, if generally applicable, would be that a child's personality has to be viewed in its totality if an evaluation of his emotional adjustment is desired. Expression of hostility per se in either play or real life cannot be taken as a safe indicator of the relative success of a child's adjustment, since, depending on the underlying reasons, such expression may be a favorable or an unfavorable sign.

4. Similarly, only a dynamically determinable relationship could be found between parental acceptance or rejection and the four patterns of adaptation to hostility. Knowledge about the parental attitude toward a given child frequently illuminated all of his behavior patterns. Even though there was probably a causal relationship between hostility expression and parental rejection in individual children, the existence of such a causal relationship could not be assumed from the numerical evidence. Parental rejection undoubtedly had a profound effect on all the rejected children, but

it did not produce the same results in all cases. While it produced a good deal of overt hostility in many children, others responded with different adaptations.

If applicable on a wider scale, this conclusion would lead to greater clinical caution and a search for a dynamic and individualized explanation of personality. At the same time it would discourage over-simplification and lip-service to widespread assumptions concerning the relationship between expression of hostility and parental rejection.

5. In this sample, severe corporal punishment tended to occur in children who were reported as strongly hostile in behavior in real life. Moderate discipline was associated with submissive behavior in both play and real life. If severe corporal punishment is viewed as one form of parental impulsiveness, this finding falls in with the observation that generally the children of this group imitated their parents' reaction pattern with respect to "acting-out" behavior. Most of the children with parents who vented their feelings and annoyances impulsively felt free to express their own hostility in parallel manner. It follows that these children, witnessing the impulsive nature of their parents' modes of discipline would give vent freely to their own hostility in a similarly impulsive way.

No relationship could be demonstrated between severity of corporal punishment and the relatively sucess of the children's emotional adjustment. G. W. Allport (3) says, "Indeed psychological causation is always personal and never actuarial. The only way to make a certain prediction of effect from cause is to study the life in which the causes operate, and not a thousand other lives." All the findings of this study point to the fact that a highly dynamic and individualized theory of personality is needed in exploring so basic and complex a phenomenon as aggression.

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Appendix I

ORIGINAL LIST OF STORIES FROM WHICH SELECTION WAS MADE AFTER PRELIMINARY EXPERIMENTATION

Series A

1. This little boy (girl) just loves to bathe and splash in the water. Mommy washes him and he loves that too. There is only one thing which he does not like, and that is to have his ears washed. Today Mommy washes his ears again. He does not like it one bit. What does he feel like doing when Mommy washes his ears?

2. The little boy has done something naughty. What has he done? What does Daddy do to punish him? What does the little boy feel like doing when he is punished?

3. Mommy and the little boy expect to go out together. The little boy wears a beautiful white suit that Mommy just had washed and ironed. Waiting for Mommy, the little boy very much feels like painting with water colors. Mommy says, "You may not paint now, you would make yourself all dirty." What does the little boy feel like doing when Mommy forbids him to paint?

4. One day Daddy brings Mommy a beautiful bunch of flowers. It seems to be a special day for Mommy and Daddy. They love each other even more than ever. They pay very little attention to the little boy, hardly seem to know he is there. What does the little boy feel like doing?

5. The little boy has a lot of fun making a mess in the living room. Mommy tells the little boy to clean up before Daddy comes homs. But he has so much fun making a mess. What does he feel like doing when Mommy tells him to clean up?

6. The little boy got a beautiful gift. His brother wants to play with the new toy too. Show me what the little boy feels like doing when the brother wants to play with his toy.

7. The little boy has a fight with his friend. Daddy thinks the friend is right and scolds the little boy for being so mean to his friend. What does the little boy feel like doing when Daddy does that?

8. The little boy sleeps in one room with his daddy and with his mommy. One day Mommy and Daddy tell the little boy, "You are getting to be such a big boy, you will be able to sleep all by yourself." What does the little boy feel like doing when he hears that?

9. The little boy thinks all sorts of things when he goes to bed at night. During the night it sometimes happens that he makes his little bed all wet. Why does he wet his bed?

10. Daddy comes home just when the little boy has to go to bed. The little boy did not see his daddy for a whole day and he missed him. But as soon as Daddy comes in, Mommy takes Daddy away to talk to him. What does the little boy feel like doing when Daddy gives all his attention to Mommy?

11. The little boy takes an awfully long time to eat his dinner today. Some time ago, Mommy still fed the little boy, but now she thinks he is too big a boy to be fed. What does the little boy feel like when Mommy says he is a big boy?

Now let's change! You tell me some stories and I shall finish them.

Series B

1. Is there anything you don't like to eat? The little boy's Mommy prepared some hot cereal for breakfast. The little boy does not like hot cereal, as much as you don't like... (insert disliked food here.) Mommy gives him a full plate of hot cereal. What does the little boy feel like doing when Mommy tells him to finish it?

2. The little boy likes to go and play with friends in the street. Mommy says: "Put on your galoshes before you go, it is damp outside!" It is much bother to the little boy to put on galoshes. He does not like to do it at all. What does the little boy feel like doing when Mommy tells him he must?

3. Daddy comes home from a long day of work. The little boy is very happy to see his daddy, because he waited all day to play games with him. But Daddy does not pay any attention to the little boy. He reads the paper and says to the little boy, "Don't disturb me!" What does the little boy feel like doing?

4. Daddy gives the little boy a nickel. The little boy wants to buy some candy with it. Mommy says, "You cannot have any candy before dinner." But the little boy feels very much like having some. What does he feel like doing?

5. It is bed time and the little boy never likes to be sent off to bed. He rather likes to stay up, play games and listen to what people say. Mommy says, "Come on, it's late, you have to go to bed!" What does the little boy feel like doing?

6. Mother gives the little boy some medicine to get his tummy well. The medicine tastes badly and the little boy does not like that one bit. What does he feel like doing when Mommy gives him the medicine?

7. What is your favorite toy at home? Well, one day the little boy comes home and finds that his favorite teddy bear is gone. You know he likes his teddy bear as much as you like your...(insert subject's favorite toy here.) Mommy has given it away because she thinks the little boy is too big to play with it. When Mommy tells him this, what does the little boy feel like doing?

8. One evening the little boy lies in bed and cannot sleep. He thinks of fairy tales and magic. He suddenly thinks of something very funny. He says to himself: "Would it not be lots of fun if through some magic trick I could not be

seen by other people? Then I could do whatever I pleased, and nobody would know that it was I who did it." He thinks of all the things he could do without being seen. What would he want to do?

9. Mommy, Daddy and the little boy have a wonderful time playing games together. All of a sudden they have a funny idea. Mommy and Daddy say to the little boy (girl): "You be our daddy (mommy) for once, and we will be your children." Show me how the little boy (girl) plays at being Daddy (Mommy).

10. One day Mommy tells the little boy a great secret. She tells him that he is going to have a little baby brother. Show me what the little boy feels like when Mommy tells him this?

Now let's change! You tell me some stories and I shall finish them.

Appendix II

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE METHODS USED

Strang (87) in evaluating interviews as a research technic discussed the difficulties and complexities of ascertaining their reliability and validity. Macfarlane (57) discussed the same problem and came to the conclusion that the clinician

> . . . .is left with the alternative of either not investigating problems of whose essential importance he is convinced, or in using methods less precise and respectable, but more appropriate to his needs (57, p. 4).

Probably drawing largely from her experience in connection with her "Studies in Child Guidance," Macfarlane (56) wrote an article on the "Problems of Validation Inherent in Projective Methods," in which she stated,

> Inasmuch as the aim of the projective technics is to get at selective responsiveness and at organizational processes, expressive or projective, it becomes clear that ordinary statistical devices used in clear-cut measurement studies do not meet with our needs (56, p. 408).

She then proceeded to give several validation criteria suitable to clinical studies, one of which was the comparison of projective materials from the same individual via an array of projective technics. Murray (64) used this approach in validating fantasy material, comparing fantasies obtained through one projective medium with those obtained through another. Lerner, Murphy and Stone (50) also validated their data with this approach.

Validity

The criteria of consistency of behavior in different situations was also used for validation in the present investigation. First the children's expression of hostility in both play situations was scrutinized. As was shown in Chapter X the children who expressed a great deal of hostility in the incomplete stories were also the most hostile children in

the free-play interview. Similarly those children who showed only mild hostility in the incomplete stories were only mildly hostile during the free-play interview. There were, of course, minor variations in some of the children in reaction to the two technics to which they were exposed on two different days. Such variations are realistically to be expected, expecially considering daily varying environmental factors. On the whole, however, the degree of the children's expression of hostility was consistent in both play situations. There was not a single reversal in the group; none of the children were strongly or mildly hostile in one of the situations and not in the other. This consistency in behavior in both play situations indicates that both projective techniques used investigated the same phenomenon; since the data were scrutinized in terms of hostility expressed, and since the agreement between independent raters as to what constituted a hostile act was very high, (see below) the consistency in hostile behavior in both play situations suggests that the tools used were valid for eliciting hostility expression in play.

The same comparisons were made between the parents' interviews and the combination of the teachers' ratings and interviews. As was shown in Chapter X the children, without exception, were reported to be consistent in their hostile behavior in both reality situations. Although some of the children showed somewhat greater hostility at home than at school, or vice versa, those children who were described as mildly hostile in one situation were thus classified in the other. Similarly, the most hostile children at home also showed themselves rebellious in school. Again, this consistency in hostile behavior in both reality situations indicates that the methods used were dependable for classifying the children into broad groups of varying degrees of overt hostility.

Reliability

Ideally, reliability should be established at three levels. (1) observer reliability, (2) reliability of the data, and (3) reliability of the criteria of evaluation.

In this investigation no attempt was made to study observer reliability mainly because of the lack of a one-way-

vision room. However, the results of other studies show that observer reliability is usually not a serious source of error in this type of observation. Phillips (67) reported an 83 per cent observer agreement on aggression in doll play, and Appel (6) an agreement of 91 per cent on aggressive episodes in nursery school. Chittenden (20) reported observer agreement ranging from 84 per cent to 100 per cent in her study of assertive behavior in young children. Anderson's (4) range was between .82 and .88. Jack (43) and Page (66) reported observer reliability of .96 and .94 in their respective studies.

The reliability of data was largely covered in the discussion on validity, for data cannot be valid unless they are first of all reliable.* Aside from this truism, in looking over the parents and play interviews, the internal consistency of the material gathered was very striking. The interviews all showed meaningful continuity and intra individual lawfulness, and they lacked contradictions which were not physchologically and dynamically intelligible.

Independent ratings of two teachers on nursery school behavior were used to establish reliability of hostile behavior observed in school. The teacher's agreement concerning hostile behavior toward adults and peers was 55 per cent and 65 per cent respectively; their disagreements were only minor in degree.

The reliability of the incomplete story technic was established through the split-half method. The ten stories were divided into two halves, and not only the hostility tallies of alternate stories were correlated with each other, but also those of the first five stories with those of the last five. Customarily, halving through the use of alternate items is preferred; however, in this instance, division in the middle resulted in more equivalent halves than the choice of alternates, because stories 3, 5, and 7 involved serious frustration inflicted by parental figures, and thus aroused considerably more hostility than the other stories. The following were the reliability coefficients obtained.

Method	Spearman-Brown r.
First half against second half	.87
Odd against even	.81

*See L. L. Thurstone, (90), p. 6.

While the means and standard deviations with the first method were very similar, the differences were quite sizable in the odd-even split.

Finally, the reliability of the criteria of evaluation was tested through inspection of the hostile incidents described in the protocols. Two raters independently scrutinized the protocols of the stories, the free-play interviews and the parent interviews for incidents of hostility and placed 97 per cent of the children in the same category (for further information see Chapter X).

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